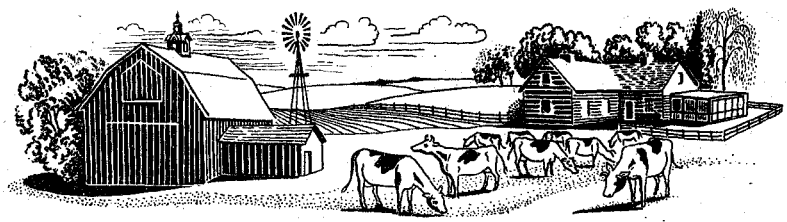
THE New Republic

Can Stevenson Count on the Florida Vote?

PAGE 9-11



The Farmers' Fever Chart

A Look at Some Current and Conflicting Diagnoses of What Ails the Farmer

By HALDORE HANSON

Clement Attlee Steps Down

By HUGH MASSINGHAM

Arthur Miller's New Play

By ERIC BENTLEY

DECEMBER 19, 1955

DEC 16 1955
The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

20c

LIBRARY OF THE MUSEUMS
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Wire .... *T.R.B.*

Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Boston-born Irishman from Wyoming, raised his voice, wagged his finger, and taking a full sight at AEC Chairman Lewis Strauss from gimlet eyes, observed:

> You have been deceiving the President as well as the public. The AEC, the Budget Bureau, yes and Sherman Adams and Jim Hagerty—all of you—have hurt the country very seriously. You should not have allowed your President to be put into the position of not knowing what went on in his own house.

The subject, of course, was Dixon-Yates and the fact that Eisenhower was deceived can be proved up to the hilt. Last June Ike said, "Mr. Wenzell was never called in or asked a single thing about the Dixon-Yates contract;" now the AEC counsel declares Wenzell was a "principal adviser" in the negotiations. On July 6 Ike told the press than Wenzell's role was "proper," but his dual role is now made the basis for holding the contract invalid. Ike repeatedly ordered subordinates to make the whole transaction an "open book," but his subordinates published a book in which the chapter called "Wenzell" was ripped out. These are the facts; they are on record; they are indisputable.

Until last week the Dixon-Yates contract was a complex deal so involved that it could not be explained to the public. Now all that has changed because the issue is changed: the issue is now the deception of Ike by his advisers and the bigger issue of who is running the Presidency. Does Ike know what is going on? The press can't find out because there has been no press conference for the last four months. But the Dixon-Yates contract goes back long before that.

The Dixon-Yates contract is Ike's baby. It was he who personally directed the hitherto non-political Atomic Energy Commission to step into the unsavory political role of power-broker between TVA and a big private specially-created power trust. And it was Ike, himself, who instituted the military "chain of command" to handle details like this and to give him more time. He picked the men to keep him advised who now, it appears, misled him. Explain it, forgive it, palliate it as you will—there the record stands. Few Presidents have delegated so much power or withdrawn so far from those boring details which kept his predecessor, Mr. Truman, busy 16 hours a day. Then when the test came on a clear-cut issue, he didn't know what his subordinates had been doing, and when he told them to tell all the truth, they didn't.

It is all very sad. What happens to a general whose staff knows that the enemy is in the next wood and doesn't tell him? Note the chronology in the Wenzell case. On February 18, 1955, Sen. Lister Hill (D, Ala.) on the floor of the Senate, made the full disclosure that Wenzell was wearing two hats. Yet in August, six months later, with White House publication of "the complete record" there was no mention of Wenzell, and just last week under examination by Sen. Estes Kefauver, Strauss denied ever having known about Hill's speech (it was on the *New York Times* front page), and Budget Director Hughes said he had heard about it but dismissed it.

Eisenhower's past indifference to lesser details of his office have frightened some people. Sometimes he has seemed to glory in not knowing what was happening. "Mr. President," asked a reporter, October 27, 1954, when Nixon was reaching the climax of his Democrats-and-Communists hate campaign, "I should like to know whether it has your approval."

"I have not read the speeches," the President told stunned reporters. "I have listened lately to two or three talks in town and I didn't hear the word 'Communist' mentioned." Next day he telegraphed public congratulations to Nixon for "the tremendous job you have done."

Which brings us back to Dixon-Yates. It has been testified under oath that Sherman Adams intervened personally to hold up SEC hearings three days so that disclosures of Wenzell's role would not coincide with the House's passage of a Dixon-Yates appropriation bill.

It has been public knowledge that Attorney General Brownell said he thought the company should be paid cancellation costs, and Strauss agreed. But to Strauss' dismay he learned that a subordinate AEC counsel was recommending refusal to pay because of Wenzell's second hat. What did Strauss do? Why, he called for the counsel's security file to see if he were a subversive! (This was last week's testimony.) Top AEC lawyer, William Mitchell, however, upheld the subordinate— and now the government must fight to prove Wenzell's role illegal which Ike called "proper."

Somebody deceived Ike. Somebody disobeyed orders. The White House chain-of-command staff won't testify. There has been no press conference since August. The question still remains, Who's running things?

Notes: Clark Clifford was complaining about the Democrats' propensity to feud, with reference to Harriman's attack on Stevenson: "Look at Ave," he ejaculated. "He's started rocking before he has a boat." . . . Knowland's decision to announce his candidacy if Ike doesn't move by January 31 throws a brick through the Leonard Hall wait-with-Ike strategy. . . . Knowland is an earnest, young, 200-pound successor to Taft as leader of the nationalist Old Guard which hasn't nominated a candidate since Landon in '36 and isn't likely to now; his bold step, however, brings reality back to Hall's palace of dreams. . . . Dulles issued his joint statement on Goa last week primarily because our lease of a base in Portugal's Azores expires in September, with renewal negotiations now under way; Dulles shocked State Department careerists by blundering into the Portuguese-Indian row just when India seemed to be souring on the visiting Bulganin-Khrushchev team. . . . Anthony Eden is coming over to Washington to find out who's running things; it's the question everyone asks. . . . Secretary Benson has the art of infuriating farmers; his comment "Our hog program is working fine" as pork prices plunge is a new classic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Hidden Assumption of Lyndon Johnson

ONE VICTIM of a heart attack returned to Washington on December 12 to meet with another and to size him up. Lyndon Johnson, unlike some newspaper readers, is not beguiled by the optimistic stories of complete recovery put out by President Eisenhower's staff. He *knows*. And because he knows, a band of reporters crowded into the Majority Leader's chambers in the Senate, on Johnson's return, to see what happens to an active and ambitious politician who is stricken at the height of his career by a heart attack.

Johnson lay back in a leather chair, his polished shoes resting on his glass-topped desk. His face was well tanned and loose now that he is thinner. His upper eyelids seemed heavy. He spoke almost inaudibly out of the corners of his mouth and parried every question with plain skill and faint pleasure. First he described his condition and his work day which, after six months, still includes two hours rest after lunch. If the doctor agreed, Johnson implied, he would continue as Majority Leader. As for other offices: "The only thing I'm running for is complete recovery of my health."

"Should a man in your condition run for high public office?" asked Jack Bell of the Associated Press. Lyndon juggled with that one for a while. His last comment was, "I would hope that the President's health would be such that he could be a candidate if he chose." "Do you favor any Democratic candidate?" he was asked. "It is neither appropriate nor wise," replied Johnson, "to turn the Senate into a nominating convention." He added, "The Democratic party as always has several attractive personalities who would make good nominees."

Johnson, in other words, is not talking for publication. But were he to confide in close associates, his well-hidden assumption might be expressed in this way:

Some Democrats hope for the best next year; I assume the worst. My own experience tells me that Ike won't run. When they turn to Nixon, then we've won. Therefore, my judgment is that the White House will draft Earl Warren. My guess is that Tom Dewey will take second place on the ticket to bring in the banking interests of the East Coast with all their money, and to assure business that as President, Warren won't get out of line. That, my friend, is a ticket hard to beat. It's not yet settled, of course.

For one thing, Earl Warren has gone to bed once, in 1948, believing he was Vice President and waked up to find it was all a dream. He isn't going to be fooled twice. But let's grant he's the candidate because we're assuming the worst. Warren will lose the South, of course, but he doesn't need the South. He will gain large sections of the AFL unions who were always allied with him. He will slow down the farm revolt by winning the Scandinavians. He will pick up many of the Negroes and other minority groups. He will appeal to independents—remember that he usually ran as a Democrat too. Also he's got the warmth that our man lacks. Stevenson none the less is the best man to try against him running as a moderate, with a Vice President chosen at the very last minute in the light of conditions that prevail next July. Granted all his faults, there's no available alternative, for Harriman is an amateur and Kefauver doesn't observe the political amenities.

We'll try to win, of course; but the bone in the mouth of the Democratic dog is the party majority in the Senate and House. Let's not drop it for the reflection in the water. By holding together the party, by keeping the Senate Democrats united under the close grip of Lyndon Baines Johnson, we can pick up three seats or so in the Senate, and gain a real working majority in the House next year.

These, we believe, are Johnson's sentiments about his first responsibility —keeping the Congress Democratic.

The Next Senate

REPUBLICANS face an uphill battle to regain control of the Senate in 1956; the odds are against their success.

Democrats now hold a 49-47 edge, and of 16 Democratic seats up for election, only 5 are in danger, whereas of 17 Republican seats at stake, 12 are in danger. These facts were given in a recent survey by *Congressional Quarterly*. Under the Constitution, 32 seats are normally filled every two years, but two Senators will be elected this year in South Carolina because of the death of Sen. Burnet Maybank (D) during 1954.

Senators up for re-election in 1956 belong to the class of 1950, the year of a great Republican upsurge, the year of the McCarthy charges against the State Department, the year the GOP knocked over such top Democrats as Majority Leader Scott Lucas of Illinois, Democratic Whip Francis Myers of Pennsylvania, four-term Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland, and the veteran Elbert Thomas of Utah. 1950 was also the year Robert A. Taft won by an astounding 425,000 votes in Ohio, and a Representative named Nixon defeated a colleague named Helen Gahagan Douglas for the California Senate seat. It was a fabulous year for the Republicans. 1956 looks less bountiful for the party in power. Republican leaders concede that Democratic control is assured in 11 state contests, all in the South. And Democratic leaders claim no possibility of victory in such traditional Republican centers as Kansas, New Hampshire, North and South Dakota and Vermont.

In the 17 other states where the Democratic Party scents victory, President Eisenhower's decision to run or not to run will have only a minor influence, exceptions being in Oregon and Washington where the two Republican Gov-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ernors, both top vote-getters of their party, have said they would run for the Senate only if the President heads the ticket.

The explosive farm issue, which might play a preponderant role in the Presidential and House contests, will be marginal in the Senate races, because only a few key farm states, like Indiana and Iowa, have Senate races next year.

Here is the situation in six states where Democrats think they can take a Senate seat away from the Republicans:

Colorado: Sen. Eugene D. Millikin (R), 64, is in poor health but "assumes" he will run. Possible Democratic candidates to oppose him include Charles F. Brannan, Truman's former Secretary of Agriculture, and ex-Rep. John A. Carroll (D, 1947-51). Colorado supported Eisenhower in 1952 but the two parties were evenly matched in state offices.

Connecticut: Sen. Prescott Bush (R), elected in 1952 to fill the unexpired term of the late Brien McMahon, will run again. Possible Democratic candidates are former Gov. Chester Bowles, and former Sen. William Benton. Republicans captured most state offices here in 1954, but Democrats made wide gains in 1955 municipal contests.

Indiana: Sen. Homer E. Capehart (R) will seek a third term. Possible Democratic candidates include Claude Wickard, former Democratic Secretary of Agriculture. Democrats overturned three Republican mayors in Indiana in November, 1955.

Maryland: Sen. John Butler (R), seeking a second term, will face opposition from his state Republican organization for the nomination. The strongest of the dozen possible Democratic candidates is Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro of Baltimore. Registration in Maryland is 2-1 Democratic, but the party has been split into factions since 1950.

Ohio: Sen. George H. Bender (R), elected in 1954 to fill the unexpired term of the late Robert A. Taft, seeks re-election. One possible Democratic candidate is Gov. Frank J. Lausche, who announced he would either seek a sixth term as governor or run against Bender.

Pennsylvania: Sen. James H. Duff (R), an early Eisenhower supporter, will probably fight it out with Democratic Mayor Joseph S. Clark of Philadelphia, who in 1951 ousted the GOP from City Hall for the first time in 67 years. Pennsylvania in 1954 elected a Democratic Governor, George M. Leader, and Democrats made additional gains in municipal elections last November 8.

Six other Republican Senators whom the Democrats think it is possible to force into retirement next year are Thomas H. Kuchel of California, Herman Welker of Idaho, Everett Dirksen of Illinois, Homer Capehart of Indiana, Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa, Wallace F. Bennett of Utah, and Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin. But these now appear to be longer shots than the first named above.

The five seats which the Republican campaign leaders say they hope to wrest from Democratic control are (1) the Nevada post left vacant by Sen. Alan Bible (D); (2) the New York seat of Sen. Herbert Lehman, for which the most likely Republican candidate is State Attorney General Jacob Javits, the man who defeated Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., for that post in the Democratic sweep of 1952; (3) Oregon's Wayne Morse, elected in 1950 as a Republican but now a registered Democrat, who may have to fight it out with Governor Paul L. Patterson (R); (4) Washington's Warren Magnuson (D) whose opposition may be Gov. Arthur B. Langlie (R); and Kentucky's Earle C. Clements (D). GOP hopes in Kentucky rest largely on a Democratic split.

As a rule, Senate races are considerably more predictable than other elections. When most Democratic seats at stake are in the South, and when most Republican seats at stake are in the evenly-balanced swing states, the chances favor the Democrats.

Everybody's Morocco

THE problem of French Morocco is now as near a solution as it can get until France's own political crisis is resolved or at least relieved by next month's general election. Firmly backed by Sultan Sidi Mohamed ben Youssef (who, incidentally, has matured much in exile), Nationalist leaders have not only reconciled the *Istiqlal* and its more liberal Independence Party rivals but performed the no less ticklish task of winning the confidence of a substantial body of independent and traditionalist opinion hitherto opposed to both. Diehards among the French colonists, dismayed at the evaporation of their influence as a political lobby in Paris and still reeling under the shock of "El Glaoui's" defection, are cautiously transferring capital back to France and buying real estate in Provence and Languedoc; but the majority of settlers, heartened by the success of the Tunisian experiment in coexistence, seem positively relieved that a way has at last been found out of the maelstrom of repression and terrorism into which Georges Bidault and General Alphonse Juin (former French Foreign Minister and Resident-General in Morocco, respectively) had thrust them. Whatever government comes to power in France after January 2 is unlikely to delay in negotiating a settlement with Si Bekkai

THE New Republic A JOURNAL OF OPINION

1826 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Michael Straight, *Editor*
Gilbert A. Harrison, *Publisher*
Helen Fuller, *Managing Editor*

F. R. Ruskin, *Administrative Assistant*
Lucille Davis, *Copy Assistant*
Irvin Shapiro, *Design*

Robert Evett, *Book Editor*
Eric Bentley, *Theatre Critic*
Delmore Schwartz, *Poetry Editor*

Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1955 in the USA by New Republic, Inc. Phone: REpublic 7-8656. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950, at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, $7.00; Foreign, $8.00; Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00.

Volume 133, Number 25. Issue 2143

Washington Wire, by T.R.B. 2
Behind the Headlines 3
Clement Attlee Steps Down 7
by Hugh Massingham
Stevenson Tests for Acidity 9
by Frank Trippett
The Farmers' Fever Chart 12
by Haldore Hanson
Books and Comment 16
Theatre 21
Correspondence 22

Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Please include both old and new addresses, and, if possible, wrapper with stencil impression.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which will be acceptable—in the short run, at least—to men of good faith on both sides.

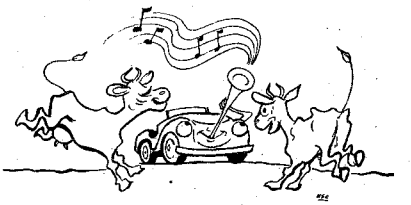
The most embarrassed actor on the Western Mediterranean scene is meanwhile General Francisco Franco, whose Moroccan policy made sense only on the assumption that Paris would never voluntarily negotiate with the Moroccan Nationalists. The Democratic Independence Party (though not *Istiqlal,* which is less free to offend official Spanish susceptibilities) has bluntly requested Madrid to proclaim the independence of the Spanish zone and allow it to be assimilated to the rest of Morocco in order that a unified Moorish administration may be built up.

But it will be difficult for Franco to concede in North Africa liberties he continues to suppress at home. And by evacuating his zone of Morocco he would unite against himself a formidable coalition of Falangists, Royalists and military officers—of all political colors and none—led by his High Commissioner in Tetuan, General Garcia Valino. To countless Spaniards the Tetuan enclave is a precious relic of their nation's imperial past; and from it the professional military families, on whose loyalty the dictatorship still depends, draw their choicest perquisites—it is one of their principal *raisons d'etre.*

If, on the other hand, Franco refuses to evacuate, and attempts to hold back the nationalist tide by force, there will be no lack of Frenchmen eager to arm terrorists and tribal rebels in their turn and dispatch them over the zonal border to settle accounts with the Spanish administration in its own coin.

How, then, is Franco to disentangle himself from this snare of his own devising? An *Istiqlal* leader who shuttles a good deal between Cairo and Madrid said recently, half-jokingly: "The master-key to the Moroccan problem is in Gibraltar." *Falange,* Royalists and army —including General Valino—would almost certainly regard the return of Gibraltar as ample compensation for the loss of Spanish Morocco, and it is in this direction that Franco may be forced to turn.

Britain is unlikely voluntarily to oblige, but how long would she wish to stand out against a major international pressure campaign? The Egyptian wing of the Arab League has been committed to back Spain's claim to Gibraltar for more than two years now, and, were



Progress Is Getting Out of Hand

by Eric Sevareid

The whistle-punk is doomed to extinction. The whistle-punk is to lumbering what the printer's devil is to printing, the water boy to football, the copy runner to the city room. He is the low man on the totem pole, on whose frail shoulders rests all the higher structure of categorical ego. The whistle-punk blows the whistle to signal the donkey engine to jerk the logs. But he is about to be replaced by an electronic device called by the outrageous name of "talkie-tooter," thought up by some damnable vice president or boss's son back in the head office. One veteran logger is quoted as saying, "At least the whistle-punk knew his place. This gadget even talks back."

If logging can get along without the whistle-punk, printing can get along without type lice, plumbing without the left-handed monkey wrench. But it is in the salient of sounds that our defense line has been giving way. We have already alerted an unheeding, ungrateful country to the decline of the locomotive whistle in the night, being replaced by the absurd honk of the diesel which does not call to far away places, but only echoes the shrill and anxious here and now. We have warned that in Texas, the singing of the lonesome cowboy is being replaced by the Cadillac saddle, equipped with a radio, now used by Texans who ride the fence line inspecting their oil wells.

But nothing has so disturbed us as the news from Gettysburg that the new $4,000 tractor the President's just been given carries an FM radio. Long ago, we wrote off our books the clopping and snorting of the workhorse; we had settled for the chug of the tractor so long as it was accompanied by the song of the larks and the mourn of the doves. Know what came out of the President's tractor radio the first time they turned it on? A "hard shell" commercial with the words, "pick your suit right off our racks and save yourself some jack."

As if this were not enough, the President has accepted another gift named a Kattle-Kaller. This devilish thing is operated from the left-hand side of the steering wheel on the farm jeep. Apparently it makes a sound like a bull. Anyway, the first time it was sounded, the whole herd of cows came at a gallop and two of them tried to climb the fence, which, mercifully, is of chain link, not of barbed wire.

It is time progress watches its step. Duck calls, crow calls, turkey calls—now cow calls. One day all wild and domestic creatures will discover that their mad dashes lead them not to their heart's desire but only to a gadget, and a two-legged creature, probably the President of the United States. They will quit responding to *any* calls, and the whole balance of nature will be in jeopardy.

Everywhere, the old sounds are disappearing. Since traveling in Europe this summer we've been meaning to send a report to Frank Sullivan, the sage of Saratoga, to inform him that his favorite sounds in both England and France are scarcely heard. His favorite sound in England was the throaty drawl of duchesses snubbing persons in trade; his favorite sound in France was the low hum of models posing in the nude.

CBS Radio, Dec. 2, 1955

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Franco to make the independence of Spanish Morocco conditional upon satisfaction of this claim, could be relied upon to rally Afro-Asian support. In recent months Russia has begun actively to woo the Afro-Asian bloc and even to seek a *rapprochement* with Spain; and in future UN Assemblies, with an enlarged Asian and Communist vote, there might well be a pro-Spanish majority. Britain could hardly be expected to quit Gibraltar overnight in response to a show of hands; but if successive British governments, under local pressure, could evacuate far more valuable properties in Persia, the Suez Canal Zone and Sudan, would Whitehall strain indefinitely at the comparative gnat of, say, some kind of face-saving NATO-status for the Rock . . . administered by Spain?

RAY ALAN

Germany Revisited—The Alliance Holds Firm

I FLEW into Germany last week with some foreboding. Six months ago I had found many representative Germans strongly opposed to their government's link with the Western alliance. Even among government supporters a depressing proportion saw the Paris Treaties simply as a valuable bargaining counter to be thrown away any time Russia should offer free elections in the Soviet Zone in return.

My misgivings were much diminished after a week's intensive touring of the Federal Republic and Berlin. Thanks largely to the ineptitude of Soviet behavior at the Foreign Ministers' Conference and since, Germany seems more convinced today than ever that her national interests are best served by a close alliance with the West.

Despite his great age and physical frailty, Adenauer's position is immensely strong. By threatening to amend the electoral law so as to give his party an absolute majority he can bring the most recalcitrant of his coalition partners to heel; his humiliation of Dr. Thomas Dehler, the rebellious leader of the Free Democrats, has silenced all the murmurs of mutiny which were heard during his illness. And there is no longer the feeling that Adenauer's disappearance will mean the break-up of his party or his policy. Adenauer's party has a number of potential successors who, though far inferior in stature to the Chancellor, could well hold their own among the leaders of the other parties. In particular, Heinrich von Brentano has surprised those who knew him best by showing an unsuspected political flair as Foreign Minister.

Economically the boom continues. Despite their scars, the cities of Western Germany at Christmas time seem the most prosperous in Europe. Like their colleagues in some other countries, the Socialists are at a loss to find a domestic policy which can offer attractions to compare with those of full employment and a rising standard of living. On foreign policy the Social Democrats have become suddenly aware of the danger that by presenting solutions too close to those of the Russians they may be made to appear as a "fellow-travelling" party. This in Germany would be fatal to electoral success. For the first time the foreign affairs debate after the Geneva Conference found the Socialists restrained in their criticism of the government, and retreating from positions they had occupied before Geneva.

Compared with the West, Eastern Germany is a dreary desert. The Soviet Sector of Berlin offers circuses but not bread to satisfy the populace. Berthold Brecht's Berliner Ensemble must be one of the three or four leading theatrical companies in the world. Crowds flock to see the Dresden Gallery's superb collection of paintings, graciously put on show in East Berlin after 10 year's disappearance in Soviet hands. But the streets of East Berlin are dismally populated by badly clothed civilians and a great variety of Communists in uniform. Military recruiting posters are everywhere conspicuous. And still the refugees pour out at the rate of three to four thousands a week into West Berlin alone. A quarter of a million have voted against Communism with their feet in the last 12 months. Most of them are working class. Professional people now have better material conditions in the Soviet Zone than in the West. But skilled workers in particular can earn a much higher standard of living in the West—it is this, rather than political discontent, which inspires most refugees. Among the weekly total however, there are always a few hundred farmers who have abandoned their fields, their farms, and their livestock to avoid punishment for failing to fulfill their task in the agricultural plan.

Against this background Russia's sudden demand at Geneva that unification should protect the "social achievements" of the Soviet Zone came as a brutal shock to the West Germans. This at least government and opposition are absolutely united in rejecting. And the Russians made a crass blunder in appointing Valerian Zorin as their first Ambassador in Bonn. For it was Zorin who stage-managed the Communist putsch in Prague and so the West Germans are fully on their guard. Finally, by defaulting in their promise to return the German prisoners, the Russians have destroyed any remaining faith that reliance may be placed on their word.

As a result the new campaign of pressure on Berlin and Western Germany finds the Germans united in determination to resist. But this mood will only last if the Western Allies show the same will to stand firm for their rights. So long as the Russians believe that the West will fight, if necessary, to stay in Berlin, they will limit their action to a creeping blockade. But any tendency to surrender in little things will encourage the Russians to bolder measures, and dangerously weaken the West German resolve.

For the moment the Russians are losing in Germany because their rigidity, as Germans see it, exceeds that of the West. But the Soviet position remains strong, and it should never be forgotten that Soviet policy can change back overnight. There is a strong case for the West to take risks now in probing Russia's readiness to concede free elections in return for some modification in a United Germany's diplomatic liberty. Once the Germans realize that there are at present no acceptable concessions in Europe which could persuade the Russians to surrender the Soviet Zone they will see that their hopes of unity depend on the readiness of their Western allies to make concessions outside Europe. Whether they like it or not, Germany and her Western neighbors are now condemned to love one another. But both sides are still far from realizing the implications of this shotgun marriage.

Berlin DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Deceptively Mild Mr. Attlee Steps Down

LONDON

CLEMENT ATTLEE'S resignation from the leadership of the British Labour Party abruptly brings to an end a chapter in the history of the movement. From now on it may become more violent or more anemic—time alone will show. What we can say with some certainty is that it will not remain the same.

Before trying to balance the chances, let us take another look at this extraordinary little man, outwardly so modest, so shy, and so harmless. That is the deceptive public appearance and seems faithfully to reflect the facts of his rise to power. It was the late Ernest Bevin who really made Attlee king, not because he had any great admiration for Clement Attlee but because, as he is reported as saying brutally at the time, he wanted "somebody who would take orders." The Attlee whom we now know—the man who was called to be Prime Minister or who has sometimes seemed triumphantly in control of his Party—appears to bear little resemblance to the person who accidentally became leader, thanks to the casual favor of the almost feudal trade union boss. It was Ernest Bevin who made him, and it was Bevin who defended him against his critics and kept him in power. Surely, it was often asked, there were better and more imaginative men than this shy chairman of committees? In 1941 the late Harold Laski was complaining that Attlee "may let the historic moment slip." Three years afterwards Attlee even found it necessary to write to Laski and defend himself. It is a characteristic letter—sensible, well argued, and with jabs of barbed anger which show that Attlee is by no means the mild fly that his critics derisively describe. "Although you are a theorist," he wrote, "and I am only a working politician . . . " And he ends up with devastating irony, "I am sorry that you suggest that I am verging on MacDonaldism. As you have so well pointed out, I have neither the personality nor the distinction to tempt me to think that I should have any value apart from the Party which I serve."

No amateur was ever more neatly put in his place.

Mr. Attlee is middle-class and he has led a Party which is based, at least in theory, on the workers. In the days before the war he lived in a suburban avenue, decorously spaced with houses so alike that no drunk could have found his way home among them unaided. A gravel path led to the front door and, behind, was the utilitarian garden—the meek lawn and the surrounding flower beds. The furniture was no different from that of Mr. Attlee's neighbors—good solid mahogany, modern and unexceptional. And on the shelves were row upon row of detective stories and government pamphlets.

Every successful man needs luck, and Attlee, one may feel, has certainly had his fair share. But although he may have become king because he happened to be in the right place at the right time—because far abler men had momentarily disappeared from the scene—it is also true that he could not have remained in his present position unless he was a more complicated person than the myth suggests, unless he was a politician to his finger-tips and had the sleight of hand, the conjurer's tricks, the nose for intrigue, in fact all the bewildering attributes that go to make a political animal.

Mr. Attlee has the sting of a hornet. He can be vindictive—he paid no tribute to Laski at the annual conference after Laski died—and yet a myth always casts back some reflection of the truth. Attlee has a genuine feeling for the ordinary man. He is a true democrat and, because of this, he attained an ascendancy over the Parliamentary Labour Party that no other leader ever had. His critics will say that he led his Party from behind, but the more charitable will observe that while he appeared to contract out of the proceedings and seemed immersed in an endless doodle, he was in fact absorbing the general feeling of the meeting. Whatever his own views were he never allowed them to come down between himself and his followers. For this reason he could, in perfect good faith, rise at the end of a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party and endorse some opinion that he himself had privately opposed not one hour before. What is more he would do it with the greatest skill. He would proceed to single out some harmless MP, so old and senile that he had ceased to have any ambition and therefore seemed to be the guardian of the Party's morality—the priest of the tabernacle. Mr. Attlee would bow in reverence before the poor deluded creature, compliment him on his sagacity, make some fleeting reference to his honesty of purpose—O, if certain people had the same purity—and so lead the chosen along the path that others had decided they should go.

Even so Mr. Attlee would not have remained leader after he was elected in 1935 but for exceptional circumstances. When the Party had recovered from the debacle of the '30s and had gained power in 1945, none of the more powerful men in the Movement could have become Prime Minister without at once provoking a savage struggle for power. What the Party wanted was not a Roosevelt or a Churchill but a chairman—a man who could keep the peace and fairly summarize the majority view. In fact, while Ernest Bevin and Sir Stafford Cripps were alive, the balance between Right and Left in the Cabinet was maintained; it was subjected to great strain, it was always precarious, but until the end of 1950, there was never any real danger of an explosion. On paper the Right decisively outnumbered the Left but it did so only if one counted the heads; in practice the position was quite otherwise.

The Cabinet was dominated by five men, and every important decision was the result of a compromise between them—the rest did not matter. The ruling clique did not derive their authority from their talents or their long service to the Party: they truly represented all the more powerful elements that go to make the Labour movement. To the last Ernest Bevin continued to look and think like the great Trade Unionist he was. Herbert Morrison was to the Right, Aneurin Bevan to the Left. Attlee was the product of middle-class guilt, one of those intellectuals who had done the rounds of London's slum settlements and had decided that the only way to improve conditions was by political action. Cripps, though increasingly infected by the sterility of economics, remained emotionally radical. Thus a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Morrison Gaitskell Bevan Attlee

decision reached by these five men was not just a deal by a group of feudal barons: their policy, though it might sometimes tilt in one direction and sometimes in another, was a fairly broad expression of the aspirations of the movement. An individual, or a group of individuals, might violently disagree with some of the Cabinet's actions, as many Labour MP's disagreed with Ernest Bevin's policy on Israel, but they did not feel that the Cabinet had sold out either to the Right or to the Left.

The fading of Ernest Bevin and Cripps is important because it destroyed this balance of power and created a vacuum that inevitably sucked in the Right and the Left. The immediate cause of the Bevanite struggle was the decision of Hugh Gaitskell, Cripps' successor, as Chancellor of the Exchequer to impose charges for public health services, which had hitherto been free. But the rumpus could not have gone on for so long or left such savage scars unless something far more was at stake. Beneath the apparent argument was the fear of the Left that unless it asserted itself it would soon be overwhelmed. Fight or perish, that was how the issue appeared to those who came to Mr. Bevan's support. Some of them certainly did not share his view that a free Health Service was an essential part of Socialism, rather the contrary. What they felt was that if Aneurin Bevan were isolated—and, still more, if he were forced out of the Party—the movement would cease to be radical. It would become cautious, opportunist, liberal and eventually go the way of the French Socialists.

But although a profound issue was involved, it is also true that personality played its part, though not in the frivolous way that has so often been suggested. There has been something austere and Greek and tragic about the Bevanite struggle. At the beginning there were only two important people involved—Mr. Bevan on the Left and Mr. Morrison on the Right. But as the conflict went on the two men raised up rivals that threatened their position: Mr. Gaitskell assumed more and more power on the Right and Mr. Harold Wilson peered over Mr. Bevan's shoulder on the Left. Whom the Gods wish to destroy . . . Exactly. Again and again Mr. Morrison's friends tried to warn him: surely he could see that Mr. Bevan was no longer his rival to the succession, that the man he had to fear was Mr. Gaitskell? To all this Mr. Morrison replied with a superior and disbelieving smile. Mr. Gaitskell was a greenhorn, a person of no political experience, a devoted pupil who would never stand in the way of his adored master. Mr. Morrison knows better now. If he is defeated for the leadership, it will be Mr. Gaitskell who has struck the fatal blow.

Unlike Mr. Morrison, Mr. Attlee remained almost quiescent during the fierce days of the Bevanite struggle. His idea of democracy, his conception of leadership held him back from any active intervention: a leader, he has always felt, does not impose his will upon his followers, he waits for his followers to declare their wishes. Besides he was temperamentally unable to intervene. Shy, withdrawn, lonely, he was the last person who could invite the rival leaders to a drink or to an intimate dinner where they might compose their differences. Mr. Attlee did nothing, and as the months and the years went by his authority was inevitably undermined. Those who whispered that he must go soon dared to say it in loud and brassy tones. Thus the Bevanite struggle has ended tragically for all the elder statesmen involved.

And now comes the harvest and the gathering of the fruit. This article is written before the voting for the succession is known, but there is a sense in which the result is unimportant. It is the future of the Labour Party that matters, not the fate of individuals, and we can surely say by studying Mr. Attlee's career what kind of person is needed to hold it together. The secret of his success is not very difficult to find. Mr. Attlee has always seen that the British Labour Movement is not a Party in the ordinary sense: it is a confederation of the right-wing and the left-wing, of the pacifist and the bellicose, of the Trade Unionist and the politician, of the Christian and the atheist, of all the people who stand for the puritanical and radical part of Britain. Whether Mr. Attlee worked it out intellectually or spiritually does not really matter. What he realized from the beginning was that if ever the scales were decisively tipped one way or the other, if the Right ever conquered and expelled the Left, or the Left routed the Right, on that day the Party would infallibly split. The danger now is that Mr. Attlee's successor will forget this essential fact and through arrogance or through zeal or through political immaturity try to impose his will and turn a loose confederation into a tidy and unreal uniformity.

The danger is very serious. There are three candidates for the succession. Mr. Morrison, Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Bevan, and Mr. Bevan is agreed to have little chance. During the past few years Mr. Morrison and Mr. Gaitskell have shown themselves to be both intolerant and impatient, though it is only fair to add that they were soldiers in the front line—the Bevanite battle was at its height — and soldiers are apt to be hasty. It may be that if Mr. Gaitskell is elected, he will show himself capable of largeness and generosity: it may be that Mr. Morrison has learnt from his mistakes. Yes, all this is possible, but the pessimist will note that the British Labour Movement is very different from what it was when Mr. Attlee entered into his inheritance 20 years ago. In 1935 the movement was still the creation of the pioneers; it was unruly, democratic, wild, enthusiastic, sentimental, absurd, honest, uncorrupted. Since then it has grown a bureaucracy and the temptation of a new leader will be to use that Party machine. If he does, we shall see purges, edicts, orders, expulsions—and death. This is really the issue that the Labour Party is now voting about and no one ever mentions.

HUGH MASSINGHAM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DECEMBER 19, 1955

Stevenson Tests For Acidity

by Frank Trippett

ON ONE of Florida's deep, clear, cold, commercialized springs Adlai Stevenson, hatless and precariously balanced, stood on the small deck of a glass-bottomed sightseeing boat. He leaned toward the water as two aqua-lunged frogmen flippered their way up from the bottom and broke through the surface. They thrashed upward expertly and grasped the edge of the deck. Stevenson reached down, shook one slippery hand, then another.

While press cameras flashed from a nearby boat to record this wet handshake, and as his aides shouted caution from the safe interior of the boat, Stevenson helped tug the frogmen onto the deck. After they removed their glass-fronted face pieces he received two valiant and dripping grins and responded, again shaking hands: "Well, how are things down in your precinct?"

Much of Adlai Stevenson's four-day tour of Florida was like this: half handshake and half wit.

In 1952 Florida gave Eisenhower a 100,000 edge out of nearly a million votes, to repudiate for the first time since 1928 its traditional allegiance to the Democratic Party.

But Mr. Stevenson was encouraged by his reception. He left the state with high hopes for a Democratic victory in the 1956 general election and with reasonably substantial hopes about his own chances in the Florida Presidential primary in the spring. His staff members shared the encouraged view. So did his supporters. State Democratic Chairman James Milligan of Orlando — who helped arrange the Stevenson trip but is publicly trying to maintain the neutral position expected of him—was amazed by the great showing of popular favor for Stevenson.

The response certainly caught the attention of the men who hope to pit Tennessee's Sen. Estes Kefauver against Stevenson in the state's Presidential preference primary May 29.

"It looked bad at first, but . . . " was the remark of the man in charge of Kefauver's Florida politicking, Walter P. Fuller of St. Petersburg. Fuller, who believes there will be a Kefauver slate in the primary and who will run the campaign if there is, said that despite evidence of wide support for Stevenson among party leaders and elected officials, Kefauver still—with his strong support in the metropolitan concentration of voters in south Florida—holds a good chance to win all or part of the state's 28 convention votes and, more important to Kefauver if he is to have any hope for the nomination, favorable treatment at the hands of voters in a Dixie state.

But the conversation with Fuller came several days after Florida's daily newspapers stopped their excited shouting about Stevenson's visit, described as a "grass-roots campaign," "handshaking tour," "shoulder-rubbing visit," or "meet the people trip." Those terms described the swing through the Cracker country of north central and middle Florida, but don't accurately apply to his three nights and two days in Miami. There Stevenson was a guest at the Gold Coast home of Jake Arvey, Illinois National Committeeman, and with brief exceptions—a speech to a convention of mayors, a press conference, a public reception—he was out of the public view.

But if he didn't do much hand-pumping in Miami, that is just what he did in the Central Florida swing.

The tour got underway as Gainesville, a town of about 27,000 and the home of the University of Florida. It is also the seat of Alachua County, stronghold of rebellious Democrats who with only a smattering of registered Republicans carried a heavy majority for Eisenhower in 1952 and, in 1948, made the county one of only three in the state to choose Dixiecrats Thurmond and Wright over Truman and Barkley.

If there was a place to test for acidity in Southern public reaction to Stevenson it was in Alachua County, Florida. And politicians who will be working to help nominate him sharpened their eyes for clues to popular and political feelings. They liked what they saw. Several hundred crowded about at the Gainesville airport, and one state office holder who had helped stir up interest could not avoid a comparison with 1952. "If Adlai

---

Frank Trippett, political writer for the St. Petersburg Times, reported Stevenson's recent tour of Florida.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had stopped here then, we couldn't have gotten more than half a dozen out here to meet him," he said. "And somebody would have taken down their names in a little black book."

More interesting to the Stevenson people than the size of the greeting party were the faces of politicians who in the 1952 Presidential primary swept the state away from Kefauver in favor of Sen. Richard Russell from the neighbor state of Georgia. Without variation and with only a little hedging, these politicians were willing to state that, with Russell self-removed from the Presidential figuring in 1956, his Florida supporters probably will line up behind Stevenson. It sounded as though the ever-mysterious "word," coming from nobody knows where, had been passed quietly around.

United States Rep. D. R. (Billy) Matthews of Gainesville, 48-year-old two-term Congressman from Florida's eighth district and a man who would support Russell if the Georgian were running, was saying, as he waited to greet Stevenson, that he felt the entire Democratic Congressional delegation would support the 1952 candidate for another nomination. Matthews and Rep. Robert L. F. Sikes, dean of the Democratic Congressional delegation, joined in publicly endorsing Stevenson the night of his arrival at an enthusiastic open air meeting on the Gainesville courthouse lawn. Stevenson was "a man behind whom Democrats can unite with pride," said Sikes, a grand and clarion Fourth of July orator in any season of the year.

And Mr. Sikes was addressing himself not so much perhaps to some disunited national Democrats as, hopefully, to Florida Democrats, among whom rifts sometimes become so fractional that it requires but one man to constitute a faction.

Sikes was also addressing about 3,000 Alachua County residents who had come out on an unseasonably chilly night to become the largest crowd to attend a political gathering there in 15 or so years, according to old-timers. That crowd and other hundreds who later came to the Thomas Hotel to shake Stevenson's hand encouraged the candidate's headquarters crew after an initial disappointment at the sparseness of street-side spectators when, just after his afternoon arrival Stevenson swung through Gainesville's main drag in a motorcade of convertibles flying both United States flags and Confederate ones. It was a town in which more than 10,000 college students had made motorcades a commonplace, was the explanation.

"How are things down in your precinct?"

Stevenson's glib comments and answers to questions won him both admiration and a small dose of trouble before he left Gainesville. His neatest sally of all came when he was asked to comment on remarks made by Florida's conservative senior Senator Spessard Holland. Holland, in a television interview the night before Stevenson's tour began, said the candidate's "moderation" speech in Chicago suggested that Stevenson's political philosophy appeared to be drawing closer to Holland's. But, said the Senator, he still didn't think Stevenson was the best man for the job as President of the United States.

"He is moderately pleased with me," said Stevenson of Holland, "and I'm moderately pleased with him. And I'd like his support."

THERE is, in fact, a hint in comments made by Holland since August (when he angered numbers of state Democrats by announcing he would give Stevenson if nominated only "such support as he deserves") that he is cautiously preparing a path by which he might eventually by quiet acquiesence join the Stevenson camp rather than be left alone in the political field and standing for nobody.

Holland is still angry because Stevenson, in the last campaign, did not consult him before announcing his stand on tidelands oil. The Florida Senator says he was promised the courtesy but didn't get it. A factor which will help decide where he finally lands is that Holland, however displeased he is with Stevenson, dislikes Kefauver even more.

It was Stevenson's well-publicized explanation of Florida's 1952 turn to the GOP (the fault of "Yankees and ignorance") which brought him most trouble. He spent the rest of the week trying to explain it away. He said he was merely quoting a student's observation. Even so, the pimple-size damage was done.

He also irritated at least two reporters who asked direct questions only to get swatted with a wise-guy reply. One, like the college student who got the "Yankees and ignorance" answer, asked for Stevenson's analysis of why the Democrats lost Florida. "I didn't get enough votes," was the response. Another wanted the candidate to mention briefly his ideas of the biggest flaws in the Eisenhower foreign policy. "Apparently you haven't read my speeches," was the comeback.

The incidents that rankled, however, were exceptions. In the second full day, spent driving 126 miles with stops at one village (a commercial tourist development where he met chimpanzees and frogmen), and four cities, Stevenson hit the stride his assistants hoped for. Democrats of all factions within the state greeted him. From Gainesville to Ocala in Marion County he rode with Sen. L. K. Edwards, a 38-year-old, bejowled, prosperously paunched and Texas-hatted cattleman who hates to see the moon come up because it means his last

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chance in the day to boom, "Mawnin', mawnin'—Good to see ya."

But on Stevenson's arrival in Ocala who introduces him around but former State Sen. Wallace Sturgis, the Governor's political ally and Edwards' political foe. To the thoughtful eye this local political mixture looked like a county-sized clue to a gradually emerging statewide design: A drive by top professional politicians, openly by some and deviously by others, to sew up Florida for Stevenson before Senator Kefauver can get moving.

Florida's Governor, anxious to stay off any partisan spot because he may be running his own campaign for re-election next year, has been as kind publicly to Stevenson as he could be without actually endorsing him. And former Gov. Fuller Warren, political enemy of Governor Collins' and considered a probable candidate for governorship again, has said that he too will be ringing doorbells to help nominate Stevenson. (Warren could hardly turn to Kefauver, whose Senate crime hearings were of considerable embarrassment to the former Governor while he was in office.)

MORE is at stake in the Florida primary than the state's 28 votes in the Democratic convention. The important factor may be psychological. After primaries have been conducted in New Hampshire, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Ohio and Oregon, Florida's will come on May 8—the first popular test of conservative Southern sentiment toward the Presidential contenders. In case of a licking for Kefauver in that primary, even his warmest supporters here believe he would be finished. Amid strong indications that Stevenson is going to authorize entry of a slate in his behalf in the Florida primary, Kefauver's state manager already is urging the Tennessean to make at least a 10-day state-wide tour to prepare for the battle.

While populous Miami and metropolitan Dade County (which gave Kefauver a two-to-one majority over Russell in 1952) is still unpredictable, it's plain that Stevenson already has taken a deep bite into upstate cracker-county support. In tiny Miconopy, for example, he stopped off in the country store which is the business district of the community, shined an apple on his trouser leg and munched it while a Baptist preacher of the village earnestly questioned him about his attitude toward an ambassador to the Vatican. The Rev. F. D. Gant later confided: "He said he did not think we needed an ambassador as such but needed some source of information there. I told him I would support him."

At the courthouse square in Ocala a swarthy man with a prune-winkled face squeezed through the knot of some 40 people to grasp Stevenson's hand. "I hope you go on through," he said. "I'm a laborer, and I want you to take care of me."

"I want you to take care of me, too," said Stevenson.

In the Marion County courthouse a visiting Kentucky mother, carrying her 11-month-old son, buttonholed Stevenson in a corridor. "My little baby wants to meet you," she remarked. "He may be in your shoes some day."

"I can't say I'd recommend it," Stevenson said.

Excepting an occasional too-flip remark and one other blunder (Stevenson had a tough time remembering that State Chairman Milligan was not "Mr. Mulligan"), the candidate seemed seldom without the right thing to say either to win a needed laugh or answer a questioning citizen.

"Mr. Stevenson," said a washed out little man, "we need socialized medicine."

"Well, maybe something like it," Stevenson said quietly, gripping an old hand.

At Deland Stevenson walked into a courthouse from whose rotunda walls hung giant color portraits of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon.

"I wonder what he'll say about that?" a bystander whispered.

Stevenson climbed the stairs to the balcony encircling the crowded rotunda. He waved, glanced down toward the portraits and in the quick silence said: "I'd like to say that this is the first time I have come out on top of Eisenhower and Nixon." The portraits were forgotten.

Kefauver, if he comes down to Florida can be counted on to keep his reputation as a tireless handshaker, a winning man on the street corners. And that's why his manager feels Kefauver still could win in a battle which would be portrayed as politicians against the people. But why is a situation forming that could furnish the battleground for that kind of primary fight?

In Florida, an every-man-for-himself state in which machines don't last and politicians are extremely cautious about taking sides in behalf of another man, why have the professional guns started to roll into a preconvention position so early? And why the rising belief that ultimately there will be a nearly solid lineup of the state-wide leaders for Stevenson?

Bob Sikes produced the simple answer in his endorsement at the rally in Gainesville. "In my opinion," said Sikes, "Adlai Stevenson is certain to be the next President of the United States."

They think Stevenson is a winning horse, and that's where politicians like to put their stake. And, like other Southern conservatives, they don't like Kefauver.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

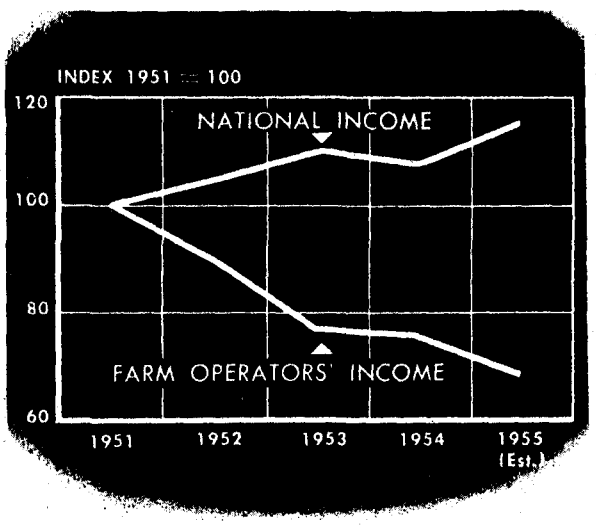
The Farmers' Fever Chart

A look at some current—and conflicting—diagnoses of farm economic troubles.

by Haldore Hanson

BEHIND every political orator is a speech writer. Behind the speech writer is the slogan maker. And behind the slogan maker is the researcher.

Researchers are often nameless creatures, but they are the molders of political action. Some researchers are nimble analysts for national political committees, concerned less with fresh ideas than with arrangements of facts to fit prevailing prejudices. Some researchers are career government workers preparing thousands of typewritten pages on private power, or federal aid to school construction, or highway construction, to be passed upward to a Douglas McKay or a Marion Folsom or a Sinclair Weeks. And at this political altitude the research reports are cut up with scissors, some data going in the wastebasket and some into political speeches.



But there is another kind of researcher, perhaps even more important than these. He is the researcher having no connection with a political party or even the government, a man who receives a non-profit grant to delve into an issue of government as a public service. But because the bias of the researcher, or his economic philosophy, or his set of conclusions pleases one of the major political parties, this man is acclaimed a prophet. He may thus add new ideas to the public scene, or stimulate action on ideas long known but dormant.

Every four years this business of research on public issues reaches the status of a great industry. It is a recognized cycle which guides foundations in their research grants and enables university departments to augment their research funds. And it has its political customers. Every candidate for public office is looking for ready-made speech materials. If by good fortune a timely research report is at hand from a reputable scholar, reflecting the bias of the political party and lending itself to sloganeering, such a research report will find extraordinary demand in the political marketplace.

All this bears on the 1956 farm issue and the recent outpouring of research reports on the subject. Until very recently little creative thought had been given to the farm problem in more than a decade. The Brannan plan represented a fresh approach in the late '40s, but for the most part government farm policy has drifted since the early war years.

The new Republican Administration set out to remedy this in 1953. A Republican Congress held hearings for a full year and consulted what it called the best minds. When it completed the Agricultural Act of 1954, it tinkered with a few things but did not come to grips with the root causes of falling farm income, chronic poverty among the lowest third of farmers, shrinking farm exports, underconsumption of foodstuffs by low income groups at home, and the surplus of both acres and farmers in American agriculture. Both parties were waiting for researchers.

Now the orators have been blessed with fresh thoughts on the farm question. Some thinking comes from lone wolves like Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois or Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, each of whom has employed a first-rate economist on his staff to work on farm proposals. Some fresh thoughts come from reputable private research organizations like the National Planning Association, which issued a 30-page report on November 14 from its Agricultural Committee. This NPA committee is made up of 30 prominent farm specialists, the majority in academic life, but the views of the committee members proved so diverse that the value of the report seems lost among the 29 footnotes of dissent.

There are two recent research efforts which deserve more careful attention because each is prepared by acknowledged technicians in the economic field, and each seems ready-made for Republican and Democratic slogan makers as they sharpen their pencils for '56.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On December 5 the Twentieth Century Fund issued a 600-page book entitled *Can We Solve the Farm Problem?* This publication is the result of four years of research by a group of scholars headed by Dr. Murray R. Benedict at the Giannini Foundation, University of California. The volume is devoted largely to an historical account of American farm programs, with special emphasis on recent price supports and mounting surpluses. The book concludes with a 50-page policy statement by a 12-man Committee named by the 20th Century Fund to review the volume. Both the Fund and Prof. Benedict may be pardonably incensed to have their meticulous scholarship, which began in the days of Harry Truman, described as a 1956 Republican campaign document. Yet the fact is that the economic bias of the book—its reverence for the free market, its rapier thrusts at government planning, government controls, and government subsidies, its inherent contempt for the farmer who doesn't stand on his own feet—are a slogan-writer's dream if he's attached to Republican headquarters.

ANOTHER volume issued November 27 by the Conference on Economic Progress, Washington, D. C., is no less a windfall for Democratic speechwriters. In fact many of the ideas of this 108-page pamphlet with the apple-green cover were incorporated by Gov. Averell Harriman of New York into his recent farm-policy speech at Des Moines, and have appeared in other speeches by Democratic leaders. The Conference on Economic Progress is a non-profit research group best identified with its director, Leon Keyserling, formerly chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers under President Truman. His National Committee includes James G. Patton, President of the National Farmers Union; Walter P. Reuther, president of the former CIO; A. J. Hayes, president of the International Machinists, AFL; and a number of liberal businessmen. Despite its condensation into pamphlet length, the Keyserling report is the more comprehensive in scope. It places agriculture in the context of the national economy, describes the whole range of farm problems, comments on the full gamut of remedies, and concludes with a set of goals which a new farm program should achieve by the end of 1960.

Both the Benedict and Keyserling reports lapse into jargon, which makes for slow reading. Both reports have the ideology, or even theology, of their respective schools. Neither will be a best seller, although farm, labor, business and educational organizations have already purchased 17,000 copies of the Keyserling report. Taken together the two reports represent the underlying clash of philosophy between the Republican and Democratic parties on farm policy, though both are more extreme than either party is likely to endorse in the 1956 Congress.

The Benedict book will commend itself to Republican campaigners because of two particular stresses: excessive federal spending, and the treatment of the farm problem as a commodity adjustment, not a human adjustment.

"Despite twenty billion dollars spent by the federal government in the past two decades for agricultural aid, our farm problems have not been solved. . . ." That is the opening sentence in the press release by the 20th Century Fund. Offhand, that looks like a typographical error. But it isn't. In the back of Mr. Benedict's book are 16 pages of tables on farm program costs, supplied appropriately by Mr. Benson's Department. They start with the relatively small sum lost by the government on commodity loans over the past 22 years, but add to it the following: More than $7 billion now invested in commodities which are being sold, nearly $5 billion in national conservation payments over the 22-year period, nearly $2 billion in loans for rural electrification, rural telephones, and individual farmer credit, more than $1 billion in agricultural research including such scientific breakthroughs as the control of undulant fever germs in city-distributed milk, and nearly $2 billion in the school lunch program and the control and regulatory functions of the Department of Agriculture. These and a few other items, the 20th Century Fund states, add up to $20 billion spent on an unsolved farm problem. One could comment with equal accuracy that we have spent ten times that amount on national security during the 22-year period, and the security problem is still unsolved.

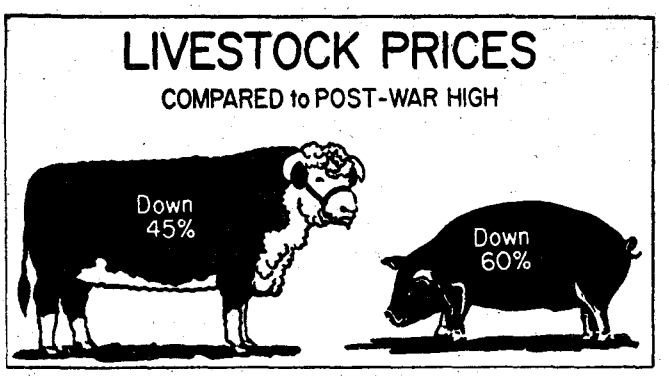
Editor Benedict associates himself with this emphasis on federal costs when he states: "The pertinent questions are whether they [the farmers] need the amounts now being spent on their behalf, and whether the programs now in effect are workable and in their interest."

Nowhere in the Benedict book will the reader find an awareness that farmers are people, that farmers have the same aspirations for family security and a chance to send their children to college that city people have. Instead one reads about "Wheat Problem Not Wholly One of Prices," "Cotton Presents a Different Set of Problems," "Competition from Synthetics." One gets the feeling Mr. Benedict is a corporation executive reviewing his inventory policies.

WHEN Mr. Benedict turns to farmers as an economic group, he makes a disparaging comparison. Businessmen, he says, pay for their own research, and labor absorbs its own "surplus" by individual unemployment; but farmers pass the check for both to the federal treasury. That is stating the point more concisely than Mr. Benedict does on page 434, but is not unfair to his conclusion. There is a wealth of factual material in the book, to which none of these critical comments apply. But it is the ideology that makes this book Mr. Benson's baby. In fact, eight of Mr. Benson's subordinates are acknowledged in the preface as contributors.

Mr. Keyserling in his booklet leaves the reader in no doubt about his ideology. A basic philosophy is what he stresses most, and only against this backdrop does he believe a remedy for the farm problem can be worked out.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Keyserling philosophy might be reduced to three broad points. First, agriculture faces a problem of human adjustment even more than commodity adjustment, and in seeking that human adjustment, we must preserve the family-type farm. Second, adjustments in farm income and food consumption can be approached only as part of the national economy, an economy now expanding toward a fabulous $500 billion income at the end of 1960 ($395 billion today). Third, against these measurements the size of both farm surpluses and payments to farmers has been exaggerated. Surpluses could readily be brought into balance over a 5-year period by combined efforts to stimulate consumption and to motivate production toward specified goals.

Mr. Keyserling elaborates on each of these points. In discussing the human adjustment, he draws a comparison, a very crude one, between Mr. Benson's treatment of farmers in 1955 and Herbert Hoover's treatment of the unemployed in 1929-32: "This effort to substitute spurious commodity adjustments for genuine human adjustments is a sad throwback to the method by which other 'surpluses' were 'cured' a generation ago," he writes. "If mass unemployment [a labor 'surplus'] arose, the cure was to let wages fall until reemployment became profitable, or until hunger-driven men would accept jobs at any wage. If prices were falling, the 'cure' was to let them fall until they hit bottom. If production exceeded consumption, the 'cure' was to let enough 'surplus' small businessmen fail. Thus every depression would *ultimately* end." Mr. Keyserling adds that "the great progress of our general economy during the past quarter-century from boom-and-bust to stability has rejected this mythology."

In his defense of the family-type farm Mr. Keyserling indulges himself in theology, the same dogma which Charles Brannan and other democratic leaders used effectively in the 1948 campaign. Yet the argument is more than a political slogan, as presented here.

EVER since the serfs in Europe broke away from feudal estates to become freemen, the strength of democracy has been found in a middle class made up of independent businessmen in the city and independent farm owner-operators in agriculture. This political fact led our government to set a 160-acre limit on public lands distributed for homesteads, and it underlay programs of the 1930's designed to make owner-operators out of tenants.

The threat to the family farm today is not from loss of ownership but from uneconomic size. Of the nation's 5 million farms, 3 million have less than 50 acres and are too small to be economic. Another 2 million farms have from 50 to 1,000 acres and can be classified as successful family farms in normal times. The largest 2 percent of farms control 42 percent of the land; many have absentee, corporation type ownership.

Mr. Keyserling recommends an incentive program which, between now and 1960, would bring about the mergers of a million of the smallest farms, increase the number of prosperous medium-sized family farms, and discourage the further growth of corporation-type farms by limiting government support payments beyond a given level of production.

THE report contends that farm surpluses have been exaggerated, and offers figures to support this view. Mr. Keyserling compares total farm production in the US with total domestic consumption and export. He finds for the period 1947-1954 the excess production was 1.6 percent (during a period when unemployment for the economy as a whole never fell below 2 percent). For the period 1952-54 agricultural production exceeded consumption by about 3 percent. If the 8 million family units in the US having incomes under $2000 were enabled by a government distribution program to have even a moderate standard of diet, utilizing government surplus, the additional consumption of farm products would have used up all surpluses in the years 1952-54. That, he contends, is why a drive to increase consumption, rather than to cut production, is the proper course.

Two other considerations suggest that surpluses have been exaggerated, according to Mr. Keyserling. The net cost of farm-price-support programs, measured by actual losses of the Commodity Credit Corporation over a 22-year period has been a little more than $100 million a year. Moreover, by 1960 the author estimates that the rising population and average income of America will increase the demand for domestic farm products by 22 percent, compared to the recent average surplus of 3 percent. This growth will require expansion, not contraction, of total farm output, although some commodities must still be cut; and due to increasing yields, about 8.5 million acres will still have to be withdrawn.

This basic philosophy with *Full Prosperity for Agriculture* offers a canvass of what is wrong with the present farm program, and what should be done about it:

1. *Consumption of farm products is too low.* Consumption should be stimulated, above all, by maintaining full employment and full use of plant capacity in the American economy. One out of five American families now have incomes under $2000 a year, and it is this group which will make the greatest increase in food

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

expenditures. A combination of expanding national economy, and government technical assistance, should team up to move these families into a higher income bracket. Expansion of school lunch and milk programs would also speed up absorption of existing surpluses.

The increased export of American farm products by dumping will be self-defeating, Mr. Keyserling believes, but over the next five years a substantial increase of exports can be achieved through larger foreign investment, larger purchase of foreign goods in America, and larger foreign aid, especially loans. The effect of all these steps is to build up dollar purchasing power in other countries.

2. *Farm income is too low, and must be raised in relation to city income.* The average farm family in 1955 will net $3250 while the average nonfarm family will receive $6750. If one takes a year of peak agricultural prosperity, say 1947, the average farm family netted $4059 while the city family was receiving $5476. In other words, the farmer at the peak of prosperity never approached the city man in income, and now the farm family has slipped to an income level less than half that of the city. (All figures in 1954 dollars.)

The above averages conceal a problem within a problem. More than 600,000 farm families have incomes continuously below $1000 a year. They are the chronically poor, selling little, contributing nothing to surpluses, benefiting not at all from government price supports. Only rehabilitation into nonfarm employment can remove them from degradation.

For the commercial farmer, on the other hand, Mr. Keyserling proposes that the system of government crop adjustments be based upon farmer income, not upon commodity price supports. In effect he rejects both the Democratic 90-percent price supports and the Republican flexible supports, feeling that neither can assure stable income for the farmer.

3. *The human adjustment—that is, helping people to leave the land or to move from small uneconomic farms to larger acreage—requires government help and must be undertaken as an integral part of the farm program.* Movement off the land would involve retraining, loans, and employment services. Movement to larger farms would require loans and technical services.

4. *National farm production must be adjusted to meet a set of goals based upon the needs of a rising population and a rising standard of living.* Mr. Keyserling offers a specific set of goals for 1960—for example, red meat consumption would be up 21 percent, wheat up 8 percent, tobacco down 4 percent. These are not arbitrary figures but calculations derived from population estimates and known American eating habits at different levels of prosperity. Mr. Keyserling suggests these goals can be attained, without serious overproduction, through a system of price supports, income payments, and payments to withdraw land from crop use.

Having outlined his system, the author concludes with a "National Prosperity Budget for Agriculture" in 1960 which includes among its targets such actions as these:

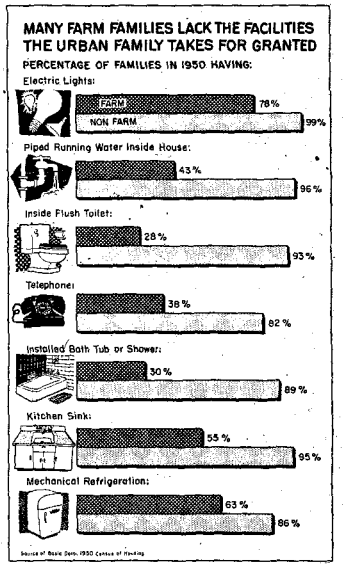
Raise total American farm income from about $11 billion in 1955 to about $21 billion in 1960. Even such a gain will give the average farmer only two-thirds the family income of a city man.

Lift six out of seven farm families now making less than $1000 into the next higher income bracket—that is, between $1000 and $2000.

Enable 2 million people to find better employment off the farm, arrange withdrawal of 8.5 million acres from production, and bring about the merger of a million small farms having less than 50 acres.

What would this "farm prosperity budget" cost? About $2 billion in 1960, Mr. Keyserling estimates, the "cost" being the net loss on commodity price supports and total farm income payments. The cost in the transitional years 1956-59 would be somewhat higher.

Economists may quarrel with some of Mr. Keyserling's estimates—notably his calculation of a 24-percent increase in food consumption by 1960. Rural sociologists may shake their heads that six out of seven of the chronically poor can be retrained for a better livelihood. And the report is certainly sketchy in *how* all these goals are to be attained.



But Mr. Keyserling has already attained his main goal, which was to stimulate fresh thinking on the farm question, and particularly to focus attention on the need to measure income, not commodity prices, as the ultimate measure of the success of a farm program.

Neither the Benedict report nor the Keyserling findings are likely to have great influence upon a Congress which is in session during an election year. Mr. Benedict's essentially negative attitude toward government supports is widely divergent from the near panic felt in the Republican Party over the possible loss of the farm vote. And Mr. Keyserling is equally wide of the Democratic Party in the degree of government manipulation he proposes. Yet there is building up in both parties a feeling of urgency about the farm issue. A report of this sort tends to move party thinking in its direction, even though a large part of the proposals may be dropped in Congressional debate.

Perhaps Mr. Benson had this in mind when he told the Republican National Committee on December 1, five days after Keyserling's report was released: "I doubt that it [American agriculture] can survive the witch's brew now being stirred up in Democratic cauldrons."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & COMMENT

The Next Hundred Years

by Morris Kline

ONE of the chief functions of science is to predict the future; indeed, the critical test of any scientific theory is its ability to predict correctly. Normally, however, scientists confine their predictions to the spheres of their own immediate work. Sir George Thomson, author of *The Foreseeable Future* and a Nobel prize winner in physics, assumes a more formidable task and predicts the progress of the next hundred years in technology, that is, in the application of science to the satisfaction of the material wants of man.

The Foreseeable Future, by Sir George Thomson (Cambridge; $2.50).

Some of Thomson's predictions do not appear to be spectacular or novel in this age of science fiction but are noteworthy because he estimates just how likely they are and often pins down the prediction to a quantitative statement. For example, anyone would predict today that commercial airplanes will soon travel faster than 400 miles per hour. But what speeds will be attained? By simple reasoning about the resistance offered by air to vertical and horizontal motions, the effect of the density of air, engine power, and properties of materials, Thomson concludes that speeds two and one-half to three times that of sound (1500 to 2000 miles per hour approximately) will be attained. But even on this somewhat familiar topic he introduces novel questions and sidelights. How profitable is it to increase speeds? For short distances subsonic speeds are more than adequate because whether one goes from New York City to Chicago in one hour or three-quarters of an hour of air time is unimportant compared to other time losses. For Atlantic crossings one and one-half hours is about as short a time as is worth aiming for.

Similarly, he treats other now somewhat common subjects of speculation. He estimates the prospects for effective and economic use of atomic power, solar energy, and the power of the tides. Interplanetary travel but not interstellar travel, he concludes, is a very likely possibility in 50 to 100 years. One can expect to improve communication so as to reduce the need for transportation. For example, by use of radio and television several businessmen may confer while each remains in his own office. Thomson considers schemes to utilize tropical, arid, and ice-covered regions for the production of food. Tied in with these efforts are measures such as artificial rain, the use of freshened sea water for irrigation, the control of insect pests, and the use of X-rays to control mutations of plants and animals.

SOME other thoughts and predictions are more striking and in many instances are undoubtedly the product of Thomson's original thinking. The historical terms stone age, bronze age, and iron age acquire new significance as Thomson points out how much our technological progress and therefore our civilization have been changed by the use of new metals. Our civilization has made no progress in domesticating animals; for example, we have not explored the use of monkeys as trained servants to perform simple tasks. The reduction in the need for unskilled and semi-skilled workers as automation takes over their functions raises the problem of "the future of the stupid." A unified world and improved transportation suggests that the wheat farmer of Canada might migrate to warmer climates for the winter much as birds and animals now do. Additional provocative themes are recorded television programs to be played as one now plays phonograph records, the direct utilization of atomic radiation rather than the mediation of steam power to produce electricity, the substitution of light, elastic structural members in large buildings for the present rigid massive members, the inefficiency of growing crops for animal consumption and then eating the animal, and interplanetary travel as an outlet for adventure and release from boredom.

Though Thomson avoids debatable political and social problems as such he does not hesitate to consider the impact of science and technology and to raise challenging questions. After considering the evidence he affirms that no conclusion may be drawn as yet on the mental equality of the various races. On the other hand individuals are not born with equal mental capacities; equality of this sort is a "legal fiction, not a fact of experience." The desire for children, as distinguished from the desire for sex satisfaction, is not instinctive; economic, political, and rational factors determine the sizes of families today. The present state of our knowledge of educational principles is a disgrace. For example, there is far less real evidence to support the best method of teaching reading than on how to grow the best potato. Correspondingly, the amount of money devoted to educational research is infinitesimal compared to what is spent in research on armaments. The behavior of large electronic computers suggests that the brain is but a large number of separate though interconnected electric circuits. What effect will this fact, if it is one, have on beliefs such as nationalism, humor, the appreciation of music, and our regard for moral principles. Since religion uses a language of symbols derived from material things and human relations, what will happen to religion when these are interpreted more and more in the context of science—consider the notion of fatherhood in the light of genetics? But perhaps there is a mind above the brain. There is some slight evidence in the experiments on extrasensory perception. More experimentation rather than scoffing is needed on this subject.

OF COURSE the future will be even stranger than Thomson has pictured it. He states at the outset that the major principles of science affirm limitations on what can be done. But major principles are sometimes altered. As Thomson himself points out, conservation of mass and conservation of energy, which were separate principles fifty years ago, are now, as a consequence of the theory of relativity, combined in the one principle, namely, the total of mass and energy cannot be destroyed. This

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

modification has made possible radical innovations in modern technology. Secondly, the limitations imposed by scientific principles do not prescribe technological progress as much as do the positive increases in scientific knowledge within the confines of these principles. The generation of electricity by electromagnetic induction, a discovery well within the limitations of scientific principles, has made possible almost all of the modern uses of electricity. Indeed, if one stops to think of the technological progress of the last fifty years, the widespread use of electricity for light and power, the automobile, X-rays, airplanes, radio, television, atomic power —some of these inconceivable fifty years ago—and if one takes into account current governmental spending for scientific research, then surely the world of the next 100 years is going to contain technological features not even envisioned today. But predictions as to their nature lie beyond the province of even venturous scientists.

The Direction of Liberalism

by Gerald W. Johnson

THIS brilliant, penetrating and often illuminating study of American political history ends with these words:

> So long as honest history is written—a by no means certain circumstance in a totalitarian world—liberals will at least be able to look back with some satisfaction into the distant past, while they do their best to challenge the fate held out by an increasingly illiberal future.

It is my belief that this pessimism appears at the end of the book on account of a misapprehension that exists throughout and is neatly exposed in these words near the beginning:

> American liberalism before the Revolution sought first of all to destroy authority.

This is unquestionably a case of confusing a policy with a principle. Pre-Revolutionary liberalism did not seek "first of all" to destroy authority. It was extremely reluctant to destroy authority and apologized for doing so in the Declaration of Independence itself. The phrase "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" by implication brands as indecent the avoidable destruction of authority.

The Decline of American Liberalism, by Arthur A. Ekirch Jr. (Longmans, Green; $7.50).

What American liberalism then sought first of all and, I submit, still seeks first of all is not to destroy authority but, in the Wilsonian phrase, "to release the generous energies of our people." The significant difference between American liberalism and European liberalism is exposed by Jefferson's modification of John Locke's summary of the inalienable rights of man. The Englishman wrote them down as "life, liberty and property." The American struck out "property" and substituted "the pursuit of happiness." Thus in the American liberal philosophy the right to hold property is not absolute, but contingent, the condition being that it shall contribute to the pursuit of happiness. When it becomes destructive of that end "it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it."

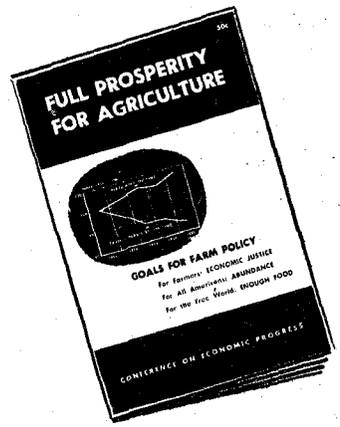
Mr. Ekirch believes, or gives the impression that he believes that Thomas Jefferson's ideal of an agrarian, autonomous, parochial government was of the essence of his liberalism, hence the abandonment of that ideal represents a decline from Jeffersonian liberalism. But this argument does not impress those who believe that Jefferson's liberalism subsisted not in any of his policies but solely in his "eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." A decline in that hostility represents a decline in American liberalism, but no other change necessarily entails such a decline.

It follows that so much of the book—a very considerable part of it—as is devoted to changed conceptions of property rights, economic security and egalitarianism may, or may not be relevant to an actual decline in liberalism. Mr. Ekirch's analysis of such matters is, I believe, substantially correct; but I cannot accept it as conclusive proof of a decline in liberalism.

But when he comes to consider, in his closing chapters, the current subsidence of hostility to tyranny over the mind he becomes powerful and well-nigh incontrovertible. Even here his tendency to confuse policy with principle betrays him into such statements as "the New Deal was more concerned with strengthening and increasing the power of such organized groups as labor and the farmer than with protecting the civil liberties of individuals." Repeal of prohibition, abolition of Comstockery in the postal and customs services, enforcement of fair employment practices, vetoes of a dozen Ku Klux-inspired bills, and the tremendous advance in the civil status of Negroes constitute an unmatched record of interest in civil rights.

In general, though, the dismal story

A New Approach to Farm Problems



Comments of National Farm Leaders

"Terrific!"
"The sanest approach to our current economic problems I have ever read."
"Should be a handbook on agriculture for the whole nation."
"Most complete and accurate statement of its kind."
"Of value to everyone concerned with agriculture."

50c each; 10-19 copies 40c; 100 & over 30c (including postage)

Send order and payment to
CONFERENCE ON ECONOMIC PROGRESS
1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the past ten years does argue that hostility to tyranny over the mind has suffered a decline. McCarthyism and the rank insanity of the so-called "loyalty" programs, in their conception as well as their administration, cannot be reconciled with any rational definition of liberalism. The only answer to Mr. Ekirch on this point is the truism that the mightier the drunk, the mightier the hangover, and the debauch of 1941-45, supplemented by a hair of the dog in Korea, was an orgy without precedent in our experience; hence an unprecedented period of wallowing in the gutter, however deplorable, was to be expected. Since war is the antithesis of everything sane, a decline of liberalism during and immediately after a great war is as inevitable as eccentric conduct in the individual who has imbibed a quart of rye.

What Mr. Ekirch has observed is the decline, not of liberalism, but of the doctrines of the Manchester school. They were indeed liberal in origin, but they were not liberalism. The Episcopalian church is Christian, but the fact that it is not now dominant as it was in Thomas Jefferson's youth does not prove the decline of Christianity.

However, Mr. Ekirch's pessimism does demonstrate the existence in the ranks of the eggheads of a disagreement on the definition of terms that may easily hamstring the liberal program of action. An authoritative manifesto is the need of the hour, but who can issue it? If its economic, or political, or social doctrines as of 1776, or of 1956, or of any other date constitute liberalism, then those of us who believe that it is faith, rather than doctrine, should begin to look around for some other name.

The Party of Hope

by Kenneth S. Lynn

MR. LEWIS' book is addressed to the crucial problem of nineteenth century America: the definition of the American character. The century was marked by controversy, but all questions ultimately hung upon the answer to Crevecoeur's famous query, "What then is the American, this new man?" To his fascinating subject Mr. Lewis brings handsome credentials; he is both a critic (formerly Kenyon Fellow in Criticism) and a writer (one-time Fellow in Creative Writing at Princeton); he is a teacher familiar with the American scene (Bennington and Rutgers) and with Europe (ex-Dean of the Salzburg Seminar). His method combines "conventional techniques of historical research" with new directions suggested by Kenneth Burke and R. P. Blackmur. His manuscript, as the author gratefully acknowledges, has been improved by the advice of a number of authorities in the field; indeed, one of Mr. Lewis' most striking characteristics is his gratitude—*The American Adam* is replete with enthusiastic expressions of Lewis' indebtedness to the work of others.

The American Adam, by R. W. B. Lewis (Chicago; $5).

Duly impressed by such credentials, the reader is scarcely prepared for major errors of fact. At first, they seem like slips of the tongue, but as the errors multiply, charitable explanations vanish. In his chapter on Melville, for instance, Mr. Lewis tells us that Melville jumped ship in the Marquesas in July, 1843, which is wrong by twelve months; that Melville returned to America in 1845, although Melville was back in this country before the Presidential election of 1844; he suggests that *Typee* was published in 1845 (it appeared in 1846); he says *Billy Budd* was "finished in 1890," although Melville himself affixed the terminal date April 19, 1891, to the manuscript and continued to work on the book through the following summer. Henry Ware is portrayed as introducing Unitarianism at Harvard "about 1808," which is a curious way of saying 1805; but perhaps the most astounding error occurs in the chapter on Parkman where much of the discussion revolves around a book which Mr. Lewis misdates by ten years.

Errors of fact only begin to tell the story. Conceiving of intellectual history as a series of dialogues, Mr. Lewis has sought to expose, he tells us, "the dominant clashes over ideas," "the major pairs of opposed terms," in the debate on the nature of the American character. The dominant clash was between what he calls the party of Hope and the party of Memory, with comments on both these positions offered by a third party in some ways the most important of all, the party of Irony. Out of the "lively interplay of all three" emerged the mythical figure of the "authentic American," a man emancipated from history, undefiled by inheritance and fundamentally innocent, the American Adam.

But there is no lively interplay, no dominant clash, no dialogue in this book, for the party of Memory is unrepresented. Just what the party believed in is difficult to determine from Mr. Lewis' vague description, but nostalgia for the past and a belief in man's sinfulness would seem to have been the principal tenets. Who belonged to it is completely mysterious. Did Jonathan Edwards speak for the party? No, says Mr. Lewis. Oliver Wendell Holmes? No, he was a transition figure. Horace Bushnell? No, he was of the tertium quid. Nostalgia for the past suggests that Washington Irving might have represented the party, particularly since *The American Adam* centers on the period 1820-1860, but Irving's name is never mentioned by Mr. Lewis. Poe's hatred of the cult of progress and the vulgar democratic mob, and his denunciation of the idea that because Negroes are, "like ourselves the sons of Adam, [they] must therefore, have like passions and wants and feelings," make him a particularly rich source for anyone interested in finding a spokesman for the past in this period of our history, but Mr. Lewis ignores him, too, as indeed he does all Southern writers.

THE New World Adam, then, is not the synthesis of a non-existent dialectic, he is, in his new-born innocence, the candidate of the party of Hope. The tragedy inherent in innocence and newness is the dimension added to this myth-figure by the party of Irony. In his analysis of the representatives of these two parties, Mr. Lewis' misconceptions attain awesome proportions. Because the American was a "new man," because he had no past, many writers had high hopes for him. But did they regard the American here as innocent —as an Adam before the Fall? Mr. Lewis' answer is yes, although he is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forced to admit, with some embarrassment, that the Adamic image "remained somewhat submerged" in much of the writing of the period. But committed to a thesis, Mr. Lewis strives to show that this uninvoked image nevertheless "lurked" everywhere in the American imagination. To prove the innocence of the American hero, Mr. Lewis begins by avoiding Franklin although it is almost inconceivable that a book could be written on the American character without at least a chapter devoted to him. We are presented, in further proof of innocence, with an interpretation of Thoreau that depicts him "tearing a woodchuck apart with his fingers and eating it raw," whereas the whole point about Thoreau and woodchucks is that he never ate one alive, he only entertained the notion of doing so. We are told that if ever "there was a fictional Adamic hero unambiguously treated . . . it was the hero of Cooper's *The Deerslayer*," although it is precisely the ambiguity of Cooper's treatment of Leatherstocking which interests modern readers. We are informed that "it would be pointless to deny that [*Billy Budd*] is a testament of acceptance," which may rank as the coolest dismissal of a hot debate ever recorded in American criticism. In the paragraph in which he discusses James' *The Golden Bowl*, Mr. Lewis begins with an unacknowledged borrowing from Matthiessen's *Henry James: The Major Phase*, proceeds to call Charlotte Stant, one of the principal characters in the novel, Charlotte Stance, and concludes with the suggestion that Adam Verver, whom he inaccurately terms the protagonist, is an amoral inversion of the Adamic tradition, a suggestion so staggeringly irrelevant to the novel as to defy analysis in this limited space. Finally, Mr. Lewis is, as previously noted, full of enthusiastic references to the work of other scholars. Although he has a tendency to misspell their names (Joseph Haroutunian, F. Barrow Freeman, Lawrence Thompson), this is not the extent of his disservice to them; it is the warping of their work to serve the ends of an inadmissible thesis which belies his gratitude.

Questions and Answers about the British

by Martha Gellhorn

MR. GEOFFREY GORER, who wrote a fascinating, revealing, often very funny book called *The American People*, without a statistic in it, has now written an earnest book about his own English, which is sodden and exhausting with statistics. The reason for this unwelcome change is the advent of the questionnaire. Mr. Gorer, on commission from *The People*, a whopping Sunday paper, asked that paper's readers for 1,600 volunteers to answer a detailed questionnaire about their lives. He got over 14,000, thus at the outset scrambling some ideas about the English: they are not reserved as all that.

Exploring English Character, by Geoffrey Gorer (Criterion; $5).

The questionnaire is probably a fine scientific method for learning facts, such as the incidence of dengue fever in Dutch Guiana; but is it really very valuable or accurate when you are trying to find out how people think and feel? The collator (hideous words immediately spring to mind, the minute you get into the questionnaire game) talks of "the population," meaning 14,500-plus of the population. One begins to revere the novel, with its intent and probing study of one or a few individuals, after reading a careful scientific work, dealing with faceless thousands who end up as grey percentages, not people. Thus, after a certain amount of plodding, we learn that "it does seem worth emphasizing that 14 percent of English men prefer the company of their own sex, when given a completely free choice; only four percent of the women would choose to be with other women." Not "English men" really, but a portion of 14,500 English men, for a start. And what are their private reasons for this choice; what does it really mean? That it costs too much to take a girl out? That there are no easy ways to meet girls? A taste of chewed cardboard is what you finally get from statistics.

Mr. Gorer's questionnaire is enormously detailed, and no doubt ingenious. It ranges from questions about housing, which establish income and social habits, to questions about belief in horoscopes which show whether "the population" is superstitious or not. There are frank questions about sex and love, with resultant statistical tables, almost too gloomy to read. Religion, it appears, is "the strongest bulwark of the austere English sexual morality." Again, "Those sections of the population who are most given to the magical view of the universe (horoscopes, fortune tellers, ghosts) are also the most fervent in the practice of their religion." Well, yes, perhaps. There is a great deal to learn about the English character, which is surely an enthralling one, but is this the way to learn it?

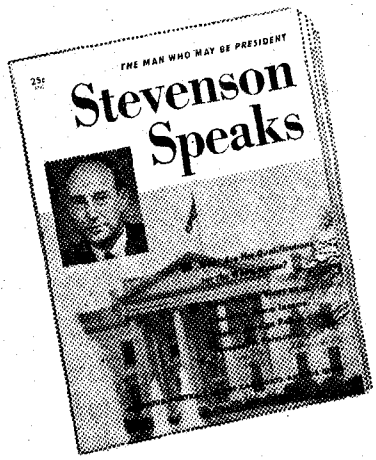
IN MY opinion what saves this book from being a serious essay into neatly tabulated non-life are the direct quotations from the human beings who answered the questionnaire. Suddenly, in their own words, people come alive; these sentences have the rewarding ring of truth, and give a sharp insight into English ways of thinking. Luckily Mr. Gorer has treated us to much of this richness; one finds oneself hungrily waiting for those small type indented paragraphs. It would have been wonderful if Mr. Gorer had digested all his material, and presented it to us stamped with his own wisdom and experience: a trained and witty anthropologist's report.

From this book you get the final impression of a segment of the English population, a lower class to not very upper class segment, as being laudable people: faithful, just, devoted to their children, law-abiding, self-critical, self-disciplined, modest, shy, unable or unwilling easily to communicate with their fellow men, patient. It is an admirable and depressing picture. As an intermittent chatterer with segments of the English population, I think it is not good enough. The laughter has been left out, the habit of making grumbles into jokes and mocking hardship; not enough kindness comes through, and not nearly enough of the improvising courage, which manufactures itself as it goes. If you had never been to England, and read Mr. Gorer's book, you would sadly conclude that for this praiseworthy people the only hope was heaven.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SELLING FAST!

order your copies now



Special Rates for Quantity Orders

Order this new, illustrated full-length study of Adlai Stevenson for yourself and your friends. Ideal, too, for volunteer groups or others interested in becoming active in the 1956 Presidential campaign.

EACH 25c	100 COPIES $12
10 COPIES $2	500 COPIES $50
50 COPIES $7	1,000 COPIES $90

(PLUS POSTAGE)

☆

Christmas Gift Idea!

A reader writes: "Enclosed is my order for 100 copies of *Stevenson Speaks*. I expect to use most of these, come December, as messages of cheer for sending to friends in lieu of conventional Christmas greetings. (Incidentally the cost will be about the same.) I wonder whether other readers may not wish to do likewise."

☆

Send order and payment to

NEW REPUBLIC

1826 Jefferson Place, N.W.

Washington, D. C.

The Moral Issues of Security Laws

by Adam Yarmolinsky

FOR the past five years, our expanding internal security system has loomed so large in the national field of vision that most of us have found it impossible to estimate its dimensions. We tend rather to exaggerate minor changes in the situation, such as the much-talked-of recent improvement in the climate of opinion about security matters. This little book, consisting of two lectures delivered by the author last spring, on the Godkin Foundation at Harvard, goes a long way towards putting the problem in the perspectives of law, of history, and of morality.

National Security and Individual Freedom, by J. L. O'Brian (Havard; $2).

John Lord O'Brian is uniquely qualified to provide us with needed perspective. He has lived through the era in which the great changes he describes have occurred. As perhaps our leading constitutional lawyer, he has been a part of that historical process.

Mr. O'Brian's discussion of the legal framework for the security system is illuminated by a fundamental insight: "we have been establishing something like a new system of preventive law applicable to the field of ideas and essentially different from traditional American procedures." He traces the development of the system from the 1920 amendments to the immigration statute, which first made membership in an organization a ground for deportation, through the elaboration of the Federal loyalty and security programs, to the Communist Control Act of 1954.

The author is a student of political history as well as of law. Mr. O'Brian points out that "since the Genet incident in the administration of President John Adams, foreign propaganda aimed at persuasion has never been successful in winning the favor of public opinion in this country." And some of history comes to us at first hand: After recalling citizen Genet, he goes on to observe that "those of us in touch with such matters estimated that during the early years of World War I the German Government expended in propaganda within the United States upwards of $35 million for the purpose of cultivating a sympathetic interest in the cause of the Central Powers. The effort was a total failure."

Lastly, Mr. O'Brian brings to bear the perspective of the philosopher, whose understanding of experience is illuminated by a pervading sense of moral responsibility. He is concerned with the protection of individual liberty, primarily because it permits the exercise of responsible choice among competing values. If government limits the freedom of the individual citizen, he observes, government, and society, will be deprived of the citizen's reciprocal contribution.

THESE lectures make the reader unpleasantly aware of how far we have moved towards abandoning our ancient liberties. Yet, they conclude on a note of optimism. Mr. O'Brian's hopes are not based on the role of the courts as a *deus ex machina*, nor on the pendulum swings of history. He looks rather to the moral sense of the American people, acting individually and in groups. He finds "just below the surface of our national life a vast web of interlocking forces of co-operation animated by the voluntary activities of free citizens." These energies, he admits, may be dissipated by lack of understanding of complex problems. "But," he concludes, "what is significant above all other developments is that whenever political or social issues are clarified and take on the aspect of a moral issue, the American public reacts promptly and powerfully."

This book should help to develop a broader awareness of the moral issue system. To recognize the issue is not by any means to resolve the problem; but until the issue is recognized, proposals for reform are only patchwork.

Notes on Contributors

MORRIS KLINE is on the mathematics faculty of New York University. MARTHA GELLHORN is NR's correspondent in England. ADAM YARMOLINSKY is the editor of the recently published *Case Studies in Personnel Security*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THEATRE

NOT long ago Elia Kazan made a movie about the New York waterfront, and now Arthur Miller has brought out a play about the New York waterfront. The climax of both movie and play is reached when the protagonist gives the police information which leads to the arrest of some of his associates.

A View from the Bridge, by Arthur Miller (Coronet).

The interest of these facts is not for the gossip column alone. So far as I know, indeed, the gossip columns have been silent about them. It is not the personal relations of Miller and Kazan that have public interest but the position which these personal relations (along with much else, no doubt) have driven them to adopt. It will surprise no one that, in the movie, the act of informing is virtuous, whereas, in the play, it is evil. What is surprising, or at any rate appalling, is that both stories seem to have been created in the first place for no other purpose but to point up this virtue and that evil, respectively. Now it is easy enough to end by winning the game if you begin by stacking the cards, only you then have to concede that the game has lost all its interest as a game. In *Witness*, informing is dramatic because Whittaker Chambers has so much to say on both sides: he senses the infamy of the act *and* its necessity, its utter wrongness *and* (under certain circumstances) its ultimate rightness. Both Kazan and Miller come to the informer because (to put it mildly) it is one of the great issues of the day. What a pity, then, that both empty it of all content and give us, instead of the conflict that life offers and that dramatic art demands, mere melodramatic preachment. At that, I insult the fine arts of melodrama and preaching, for these works lack the verve and unpretentiousness of true melodrama, just as they lack the purity and profundity of good preaching. In both *Waterfront* and *A View from the Bridge*, truth—life in its concreteness—is obscured by a fog of false rhetoric. Observe, for example, how music is used in the film: to inflate, not to define. And observe, in *A View*, the use of . . . Poetry.

Actually, when I received a printed copy of *A View*, and found that a lot of the dialogue was in verse, you could have knocked me over with a feather. When I saw the play acted, I suspected Mr. Miller of many things, but never this. The gravity of the deed must not, of course, be exaggerated: some of the verse would make acceptable prose, if typed up differently. But some of it, like much of Maxwell Anderson's, suggests that poetry is a writer's Sunday clothes, party manners, or assumed Oxford accent: what is too silly to be said can be sung, and what is too pretentious for prose is poetry. The accent in Mr. Miller's case isn't Oxford; it's Graeco-Latin. A town that for centuries has been known to us as Syracuse is called Siracusa. Mr. Miller's notion of Italians is strictly operatic ("In my country he would be dead now," says the Sicilian avenger), and, as for Greek tragedy, insisted upon in preface and play alike, he would have been well-advised to let his story become Greek by its own poignancy and grandeur and not by choral tips to the audience.

As published by Viking, the play is prefaced by an essay in which Mr. Miller says that prose is the language of private life, dramatic verse "the most public of public speech." But in what is Fry more public than O'Casey, Yeats than Shaw? My rhetorical question does not close the discussion; my point, rather, is that Mr. Miller never opens it, never, indeed, opens *any* discussion, but seems to live in isolation from the great debates which are the intellectual life of our time. Sometimes he will state a generally accepted truth as if it were a discovery of his own. Sometimes he will show himself unaware that others have gone much further along the same path as himself. Indeed, in his current preface, in order to make Arthur Miller sound broad, he is not above making out that Ibsen, Chekhov, and Shaw are narrow. The closer he gets to the crux of any matter, the stronger is his tendency to substitute oratory for inquiry. For example, it is an old trick, when defending a given genre, to make the definition so wide as to include other genres. In his new preface, Mr. Miller's defense of the "social" play takes the form of claiming that *every* good play is social. To such poor argumentation, one should add, as the next largest fault of Mr. Miller's articles and prefaces, clumsiness of style. "The debilitation of the tragic drama, I believe, is commensurate with the fracturing and aborting of the need of man to maintain . . ." It sounds like the victory of Teachers College over the English language; when prose has sunk so low, there is, no doubt, nothing left but poetry.

On the other hand, one detects a positive element in the new preface in the shape of an effort to transcend the outlook on which this author was, so to speak, raised. The only single word for that outlook is "Stalinism," yet it should only be used if we understand that its adherents weren't usually Communists but only progressivists whose feelings were hurt if anyone said anything against Russia. This form of progressivism has lingered in the theatre long after being discredited in other sections of the community. But, if the new preface is any indication, Mr. Miller is no longer helping it to linger.

A View from the Bridge has had a curious fate. A tremendous hit on the road, it had a cool reception from the New York papers; yet the advance sale was considerable, and the play will run

"I ain't never had nothing that wasn't mine by rights."

THE YANKEE who made that boast could carve out his own living on his own land and look to no man else to satisfy his needs. In our age of technological specialization, there is no such complete individual self-sufficiency. Yet in any age, having the basic things we need "by rights" is an essential element of human dignity and independence. How can we protect it in our interdependent society? What part should the government play?

Out of his long career of public service, A. DELAFIELD SMITH has distilled a new philosophy of social and legal responsibility to the individual. Reviewing the history and present procedures in our education, health and social welfare programs, he shows where our present practices fail to meet today's requirements—and what we can do to develop an intelligent, realistic program for the future.

The Right to Life

By A. DELAFIELD SMITH
Assistant General Counsel, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

$3.50 at bookstores

Chapel Hill

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
Chapel Hill, N. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

well into 1956. No importance should be attached either to the out-of-town hullabaloo or the journalists' disappointment. The play is fairly representative Miller; your opinion of him will go neither up nor down after you've seen it. The famous hard-hitting dialogue is often effective. There are several well-devised scenes and one good character: as usual with this author, a father; Van Heflin plays the role with great plastic skill, though he was miscast in it. In his setting Boris Aronson found the common factor between modern Brooklyn and ancient Greece, almost persuading us that the Greek reference was justified. Though the directing of Martin Ritt is clumsy—too busy and a little vulgar—the supporting cast is strong and well-varied.

I should add, perhaps, that there is another way of taking the whole show. Mr. Miller says he is attempting a synthesis of the social and the psychological and, though one may not see any synthesis, one certainly sees the thesis and the antithesis. In fact, one never knows which a Miller play is about: politics or sex. If *Salesman* is political, the key scene is the one with the tape recorder; if it is sexual, the key scene is the one in the Boston hotel. You may say of *Crucible*, it isn't about McCarthy, it's about love in the seventeenth century. And you may say of *A View* that it isn't about informing, it's about incest and homosexuality. Strange how this argument always constitutes a sort of alibi for the author (as, in effect, Robert Warshow said in the best analysis of Mr. Miller yet written), nor is the sex story in *A View*, as performed, satisfactory in itself. The ambiguity of "Is he or isn't he?" is inherited from *Children's Hour*, and *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*: much is made of false accusation, yet we don't feel sure that the accusation is false.

A View from the Bridge is preceded by a shorter play called *Memory of Two Mondays*. Alone among Mr. Miller's plays, it is something less than shattering in intended effect, something less than cosmic in intended scope, I had the impression that, had certain gaps been filled (or certain bits not omitted?), there might have been half an hour of unforced and touching drama in it, and not just unsuccessful evocations of Odets and Saroyan.

ERIC BENTLEY

CORRESPONDENCE

► Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor

SIRS:

Since the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, many official documents, charges and countercharges have been published concerning the attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941. In view of this, the readers of *The New Republic* might find interesting the following unofficial report which may throw some light on the events preceding Pearl Harbor.

On Monday, December 1, 1941, it was my good fortune to lunch with the late Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, sociologist, educator and writer. At that time, Dr. Lindeman told me the following, which I remember quite vividly, not only because of its importance at that moment, but also because of the events which followed.

On the previous evening, Sunday, November 30, 1941, Dr. Lindeman had been a dinner guest with several others at the White House. After dinner the President retreated to his study and invited Dr. Lindeman to join him. The President opened the conversation by telling Dr. Lindeman that the nation was facing almost certain war and that the situation was extremely serious. The President went on to say that it looked to him as though Japan would attack at any moment; that he had done everything he could to keep the country at peace and to avoid war, but that he was now convinced that it was impossible. Japan, he explained, did not want peace—she wanted war—and she wanted it then because she knew that we were not as prepared as we should have been. The President then went over the history of how his administration had for a long time pushed hard for effective rearming, but that it had been difficult to prove the necessity to the people and to Congress because the facts had not been available to make out a case of clear and present danger.

Dr. Lindeman asked the President if Ambassador Nomura and Special Envoy Saburo Kurusu were not then negotiating in earnest for a peaceful settlement of the existing differences. The President's reply was to the effect that the then Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, thought that perhaps they might be negotiating in good faith but that he, the President, believed the negotiations just a sham and a stall, and that he had no confidence in their negotiations. He went on to emphasize to Dr. Lindeman that he had had all of our admirals and generals notified that they might expect a sneak attack by Japan at any moment, either at the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, or even on the West Coast, and that he had advised them to be vigilant and alert for such an attack.

Dr. Lindeman asked the President how long he thought such a war would last. The President answered that half his admirals and generals told him it would last three months and the other half told him it would last three years. He, however, agreed with the "three-year boys."

Considering that the President spoke this frankly to Dr. Lindeman seven days before Pearl Harbor, I have always wondered why our Armed Forces, both at Pearl Harbor and the Philippines, were not more alert and why they were taken by surprise. Certainly all the facts given to Dr. Lindeman must have been well known to the Chiefs of Staff and many members of the Cabinet even before November 30, 1941.

FRANK E. KARELSEN

New York City

► Farm Price Supports

SIRS:

Your "Washington Wire" in the November 7, 1955, *New Republic* concerning candidate Eisenhower's GOP pledge to support farmers at 100 percent of parity noted. But I do not agree that high rigid supports are more to blame for our surplus foods than low supports.

Thirty years ago I farmed with horses. My capactiy to produce was limited. We would get up at 4 a.m. and work 16 hours a day. At that time we had a gamblers' and speculators' market with no protection for the farmer. Under that system we saw Number 1 Dark Northern wheat go to 48c at Minneapolis, No. 3 yellow corn at 26c per bushel. We saw hog prices at $3.04 at Chicago with a net of about $2.40 per cwt. for farmers. Corn netted 10c; oats, 6c; and wheat about 28c for farmers. There was no market for potatoes at all, butter was 12c a pound and eggs were 8c a dozen. Under this system the surpluses piled up and rotted on our farms, while millions

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of people were unemployed because of this condition which closed factories and stopped production of the things farmers and laborers couldn't buy. Farm foreclosures were on by the score. The Republicans with Secretary Benson would give us this back again.

Secretary Benson tells farmers that Labor is to blame for lower farm prices. Let's take the meat industry as an example. In 1951 the average wage cost of processing 100 pounds of meat was $3.25. By 1955, despite higher wages, the average had risen to $3.26. The wage increase was 35c per hour while the cost of processing rose only 1c.

Labor is indeed the farmer's friend. We want labor well paid. Let's not blame labor for the economic distress we farmers find ourselves in.

GOLDEN GREEN

Sanborn, Minnesota

► One-party Press?

SIRS:

I'd like to take a liberal magazine or paper and was hoping yours would be it. However after reading it for some months I have been forced to the conclusion that you are only "liberal" where it concerns the Democratic Party. There must be *some* good in the Republican Administration somewhere but you never seem to be able to find it and even the Democrats must make some mistakes but you seem blind to them.

When I find a liberal paper which is impartial in its praise and criticism of all parties, I'll be glad to subscribe. I have small time for one so plainly biased in all its articles.

R. L. BALLARD

Flint, Michigan

► Amplification from India

SIRS:

I regret to say that the overtones in the introductory remarks to my article on Nehru (*NR*, November 14) put me in an embarrassing situation *vis-à-vis* my employers and political friends. The views expressed in the article were my own personal views and I never claimed that I was speaking either as an employee of the *Times of India* or as a socialist.

Secondly, I am a sub-editor in the *Times* and not "a news editor" as mentioned therein. A news editor is much higher up in the editorial hierarchy.

Finally, I have been, if anything, a bitter critic of the Lohia faction in the Indian Socialist movement. While Dr. Lohia's views on Nehru might be somewhat identical to those I have vented, by splitting the Socialist Party Dr. Lohia has only done what Nehru wanted: polarized the forces between the Congress and the Communists. As far as the Praja Socialist Party is concerned, while I am one of its staunch supporters, I do not hold any executive post in the party nor am I competent to speak for it on any subject.

G. S. BHARGAVA

New Delhi, India

BANDWAGON

A SECRET pro-segregation society known as "The Southern Gentlemen's Organization" has urged Governor Robert Kennon of Louisiana to prevent the mixing of races at the Sugar Bowl football game. The organization warned that allowing a Negro football player to perform in the bowl game would be another step in destroying what it called "The Southern Way of Life."—*A. P. Radio Wire*, December 5, 1955

EX-CONGRESSMAN Hamilton Fish, a Walter Camp All-America in 1908 on Harvard's undefeated team and All-America again and captain in 1909 . . . said a football player receives during the fall months more mental development under a good coach than "in any single liberal arts course in college."

He started by saying: "This is my answer to the long-haired professors, frustrated intellectuals, cynical eggheads, spineless mollycoddlers and other fuzzi-wuzzies. . . . ." —*Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, November 30, 1955

ONE responsible and influential member of the party in the Government even suggested that the President might be more inclined to run again now than he was before his heart attack. The argument put forward for this was as follows:

So long, he said, as the President could hope to look forward to a pleasant retirement of golf and fishing, he was eager for it. But now, if the doctors were going to restrict these activities, he might be more willing to run again.—*New York Times*, November 10, 1955

THOSE looking for Christmas toys should wander into Uncle Bernie's toy menagerie in Beverly. He has a unique selection: baby elephants that sell for $550; life size stuffed lions for the same price; a mechanical snake that squeezes a cute little mouse into death.—Hedda Ho, *Hartford Courant*, November 22,

MR. [CAMERON] HAWLEY'S *Exe Suite*, written a couple of years proved that a fundamentally sympat novel about business could be excit His latest novel, *Cash McCall*, is emph evidence that first-rate fiction can be ma out of what the Internal Revenue Servic does to the minds and emotions of men who have to contend with the impact of taxation on the productive energy of a nation.—*Wall Street Journal*, November 22, 1955

FREDERICK C. CRAWFORD, who is board chairman of Thompson Products, Inc., of Cleveland, and a former president of the National Association of Manufacturers, described labor leaders as a "small powerful group" bent on moving into American political life. . . .

In his address Mr. Crawford stressed the influence of minority movements by citing the Nazi party in pre-war Germany as "a supreme example of how a few people" could rise to power. He observed that the Nazi rise developed at about the same time that labor was becoming a potent political force in this country.—*New York Times*, November 23, 1955

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping—THE EDITORS.

"A Brilliant Comedy" Atkinson Times
"THE FIRST PLAY OF THE SEASON YOU WILL WANT TO GO BACK TO SEE AGAIN." —Hewes, Saturday Review
"REAL WIT." —Gibbs, The New Yorker
GLADYS SIOBHAN
COOPER McKENNA
THE
CHALK GARDEN
A New Play by ENID BAGNOLD
with
PERCY FRITZ MARIAN
WARAM WEAVER SELDES
and
BETSY von FURSTENBERG
BARRYMORE THEA., 47 St. W. of B'way
Mats. Wed Sat. & Mon. Jan. 2

LET ME FIND THE BOOK YOU WANT
Madeleine Swarte, 122 South Third Avenue, Mount Vernon, New York

LOUVRE, NATIONAL GALLERY, METROPOLITAN, DETROIT INSTITUTE, WORLD MASTERPIECES & GREAT ART NUDES, 2x2 Gorgeous Color Slides 25¢ each. Send $1 for 4 samples & catalogs. ARTCO Slides, Box 46123-NR, Hollywood 46, Calif.

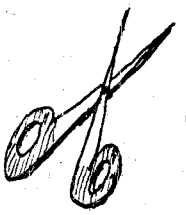
BRITISH BOOKS—ALL SUBJECTS. Catalogue free. Wants solicited. Transbooks, Box 22-NR, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

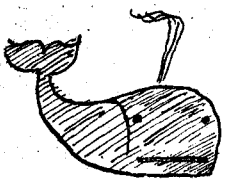
THE WORLD'S GREAT REACTIONARIES on Parade, with their Bibles, but exposed in their Birth-dates. New A B C & 1 2 3 Method shows them up like Zebras. $5, $4 or more refund after 2 wks inspection. LIGHT & DARKNESS, Rt 1 Box 625, Camas, Wash.

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as Shopping Hint

Get out your  and save yourself



of a lot of Xmas shopping by sending your friends the for Christmas! All you do is clip the coupons below. No need for We'll bill you later. And a copy of will be sent FREE with each gift you order.

("Stevenson Speaks" is the new 28-page illustrated, frank study of Adlai Stevenson, the candidate and the man. Important reading!)

MAIL TO THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1826 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Please send The NEW REPUBLIC for 1 year as my gift (1st gift $7). Also enclose a Christmas card in my name.

TO: (Name) .....

(Address) .....

(City, State) .....

Send "STEVENSON SPEAKS" to

.....

Name of Donor

Please send The NEW REPUBLIC for 1 year as my gift (2nd gift $5). Also enclose a Christmas card in my name.

TO: (Name) .....

(Address) .....

(City, State) .....

Send "STEVENSON SPEAKS" to

.....

Name of Donor

Please send The NEW REPUBLIC for 1 year as my gift (3rd gift $5). Also enclose a Christmas card in my name.

TO: (Name) .....

(Address) .....

(City, State) .....

Send "STEVENSON SPEAKS" to

.....

Name of Donor

NAME OF DONOR

(Name) .....

(Address) .....

(City, State) .....

NOTE: You may order "Stevenson Speaks" sent to any other address you wish. Indicate on coupon.

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED